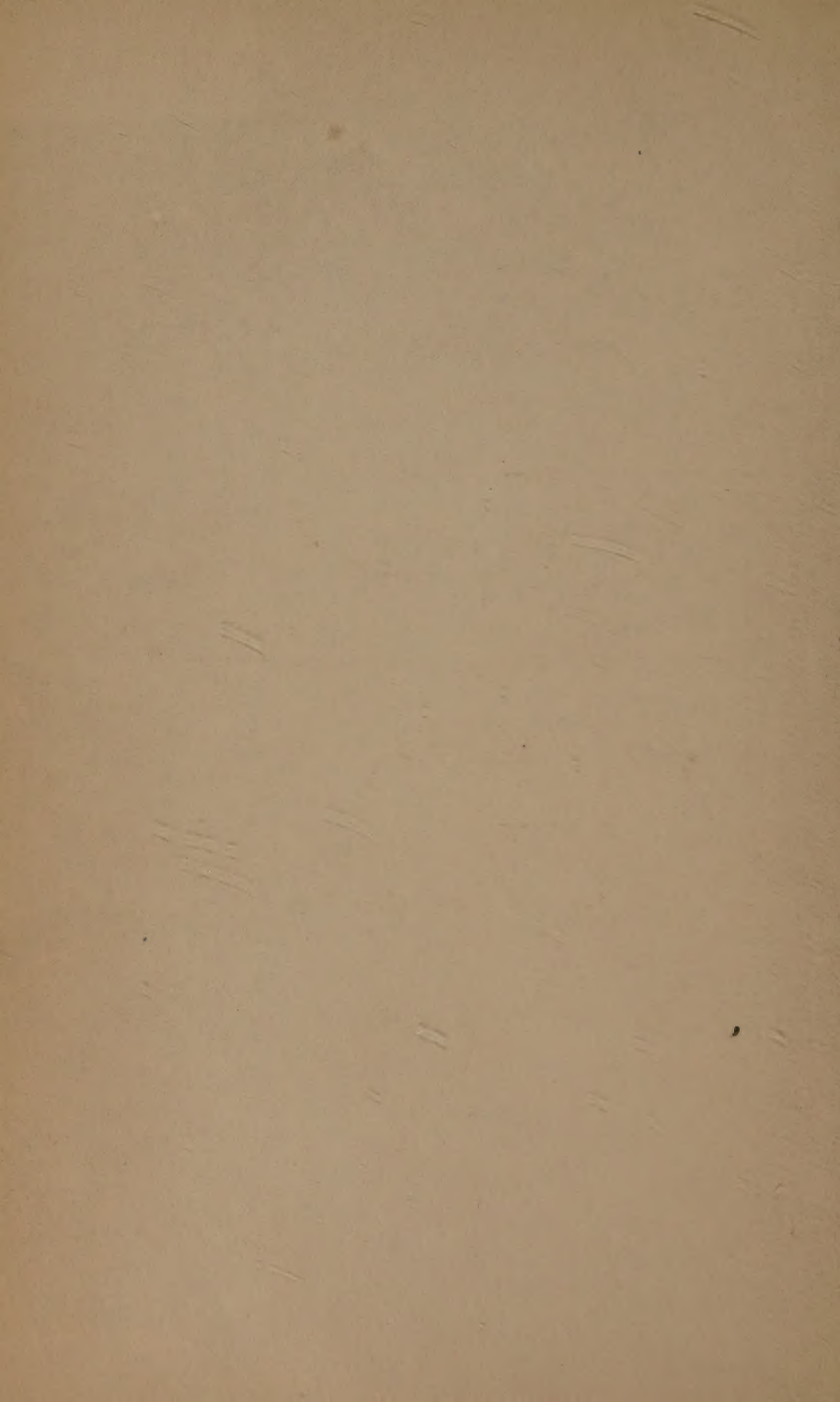


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METHODIST HEROES.

METHODIST HEROES

IN THE

GREAT HAWORTH ROUND

1734 to 1784

MEMORIALS COMPILED BY

J. W. LAYCOCK

KEIGHLEY

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1874

GREAT NORTHERN ROUND

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METHODIST HEROES IN THE GREAT HAWORTH ROUND.

A.D. 1734 TO 1777.

CHAPTER I.

CAREFUL students of the great revival of religion in England in the eighteenth century must be impressed by the evidence that it was a supernatural movement, a work of God. Such divine action upon the souls of men is constantly needed, and exceedingly to be desired in every age, and in dealing with the early history of the Haworth Round and Keighley Circuit, I shall call special attention to this feature in the rise of Methodism, in the hope that we of this day may be led to go direct to God for power and providential openings, and again see answers to our prayers, in a revival, bearing as direct signs of the Holy Spirit's operation, as that great spiritual movement exhibited.

No review of the revival of religion in the eighteenth century would be fair that did not recognise as far as possible all the agencies made use of by God. Clergymen of the Establishment scattered over the country were awakened, converted, and preached the truth. Dissenting churches felt the breath of the new life, not a few being supplied with ministers out of the ranks of the Methodist Itinerancy and societies.

Lady Huntingdon's preachers and the clergy she employed played a considerable part, and by their labours churches were formed. Ingham and his preachers were apostles to a wide area of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cumberland. Whitefield, like a flame of fire, was the awakener of thousands. All this host contained men, who though differing profoundly on matters of doctrine, preached the essential truths of the Christian religion, and were signally owned of God. They and their works have passed to a great extent out of sight, because their organization was not equal to that of Methodism under the Wesleys. Also because the leaven of Calvinism was too largely present in their doctrinal systems, and entire sanctification not recognised and enjoyed as in the ranks of the Wesleyan section. Yet we cannot study the history without seeing that

both the doctrines and organization were no preconceived system of Wesley and his preachers, but sprang most simply and naturally out of experience of the divine life in the soul; and the organization out of expedients devised to meet emergencies of the societies as they arose.

Without any disparagement, therefore, of other workers and their work—nay, with a disposition to fully acknowledge the hand of God with them,—His constant wise guidance of our Church is seen, and we give to Him all the glory for the marvellous developments springing out of its beliefs and economic arrangements.

Speaking of the religious condition of England in the early part of the eighteenth century, Southey says, "The greater part of the nation were totally uneducated, —Christians no farther than the mere ceremony of baptism could make them, being for the most part in a state of heathen, or worse than heathen, ignorance." In his "Colloquies" he also declares his conviction, "That there never was less religious feeling, either within the Establishment or without, than at the time of the Wesleys' appearance; and that he and Mr. Whitefield were the chosen instruments of Providence for giving a great impulse to religious feeling when it was needed most"*

As to the clergy of the eighteenth century, I give the opinion of the late Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool. "The vast majority of them were sunk in worldliness, and neither knew nor cared anything about the profession. They neither did good themselves, nor liked any one else to do it for them. They hunted, they shot, they farmed, they swore, they drank, they gambled. They seemed determined to know everything except Jesus Christ and Him crucified. When they assembled it was generally to toast 'Church and King,' and to build one another up in earthly-mindedness, prejudice, ignorance, and formality. When they retired to their own homes, it was to do as little and preach as seldom as possible. And when they did preach, their sermons were so unspeakably and indescribably bad, that it is comforting to reflect they were generally preached to empty benches."†

"The blight of ease and freedom from persecution seemed to rest upon the Dissenters. Natural theology, without a single distinctive doctrine of Christianity, cold morality, or barren orthodoxy, formed the staple teaching both in church and chapel. Both parties seemed at last agreed on one point, and that was to let the devil alone, and to do nothing for hearts

*Life of Wesley, p. 206.

†Christian Leaders, p. 17.

and souls. And as for the weighty truths for which Hooper and Latimer had gone to the stake, and Baxter and scores of Puritans had gone to jail, they seemed clean forgotten and laid on the shelf.”*

John Wesley and George Whitefield have attained such world-wide fame as to be popularly credited almost everywhere with the origination of the Methodist movement throughout the land. Their striking personalities overshadow the minor agents, as Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin obscure the less known workers in the Reformation on the Continent. Wesley was undoubtedly called of God to be the leader; but about the same time—quite independently—the voice of God was heard by humbler men, and the power of God is seen in and through them also. It is to make these men more than mere names in old records which have come down to us; to see them live and hear them speak, that this history in part is written. I make no apology for introducing into it scenes and incidents, in some instances remote from the Haworth Round. It is the men of the Revival and their mission that I wish to present to view, and without such references to persons and events, their character and work could not be apprehended as it presents itself to the historian who reads the full narrative.

For the same reason their difficulties and opinions in periods of crisis, doctrinal and organic, will be dealt with somewhat fully. To do this I shall freely use the narratives already extant, some of which are little known to Methodist readers who are not collectors, interweaving unpublished letters, &c., to which, through the great kindness of friends, I have had access.

In Yorkshire, pioneer evangelistic work had been done so early as 1734, when Benjamin Ingham, one of the Oxford Methodists, although unordained at that time, taught 42 children at Ossett how to read, and held Sunday meetings among the poor. Numbers of persons were convinced of their lost condition as sinners in these meetings. In 1735 Ingham was ordained, and in addition to performing the office of reader of public prayers at Christ Church and St. Sepulchre's, London, he preached in some of the surrounding villages with such singular success that many people were powerfully impressed by his fervid ministry.

Ingham shortly after went out with the Wesleys to Georgia, and made considerable progress in acquiring the language of the Indians, but God in His providence had other work for him to do. On February 24th, 1737, Wesley says, “It was agreed Mr. Ingham should go to England and endeavour to bring over, if it should please God, some of our friends to strengthen

*Ryle Christian Leaders, p. 14.

our hands in this work." In this he did not succeed, and eventually all the party of Methodists were recalled from Georgia, and found their true sphere in England. How often diverse to the purposes of men are those of God. Thus Mr. Ingham writes on October 22nd, 1737, "I have no other thought but of returning to America. When the time comes I trust the Lord will show me. My heart's desire is that the Indians may hear the gospel. For this I pray both night and day."

Of the preparatory spiritual work in Yorkshire we have an important account in a letter addressed to Dr. Gillies, of Kelso, by the Rev. W. Grimshaw, of Haworth, July 19th, 1754: "In the year 1738 our gracious Redeemer was pleased to revive His work in the West Riding, as we call it, of this county of York. Now were poor souls amongst us brought to know Jesus alone, for their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. The first instrument sent hither by our dear Immanuel was one Mr. Benjamin Ingham, a clergyman, and one of the Oxford Methodists. He was born at Ossett, in this Riding. The clergy at first received him into their pulpits, the churches were soon crowded, and a great stirring up of the people to seek salvation by faith alone, in the merits of a crucified Saviour, quickly appeared. But Satan perceiving his kingdom to be in danger, began to roar, and the clergy (as I have been informed) were forbid to receive Mr. Ingham any more. Wakefield, Ossett, Leeds, Halifax, and many other churches and chapels he preached in, until he was prohibited. And greatly were the people blessed. He then betook himself (as did Messrs. Wesleys and Whitefield, and others at the same time) to our Saviour's manner, field preaching. As eminently did our Lord soon testify that this was His good pleasure. Multitudes assembled everywhere, and it soon appeared that conscience rather than curiosity was the main motive thereto. Man's fall and degeneracy, his redemption through Christ Jesus alone, the nature and necessity of the new birth, justification by faith only, sanctification by the indwelling of the Spirit of our Redeemer, &c., these were (and still are) the main doctrines and subjects of all discourse. Many people not only heard, but were convinced, converted, and brought to a saving experimental knowledge of these truths. The Kingdom of God soon appeared to be a kingdom within by righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Like Wesley, Ingham had been most favourably impressed by the piety of the Moravians, and in 1838 he accompanied Wesley on a visit to Herrnhuth and Marienborn, the residence of Count Zinzendorf, and on their return to England they attended the Moravian meetings in Fetter Lane, London.

One of these meetings has been too little noticed by biographers of the great evangelists. Important as was the call and conversion of the Apostles, their Pentecostal baptism was even more so. Ere the leaders of the great revival could go forth fully equipped on their noble but trying mission, they also must have a Pentecostal baptism. Hence we find that the holy fire descended on the morning of January 1st, 1739, in the old Moravian Chapel, Neville's Court, Fetter Lane, a sacred shrine still standing. Wesley says, "Messrs. Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, Whitefield, Hutchins, and my brother Charles, were present at our love feast, with about 60 of our brethren. About three in the morning as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we recovered a little from our awe and amazement at the presence of the Divine Majesty, we broke out with one voice, 'We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord!'"

Those present at the meeting in Fetter Lane, conscious that a new era in their lives had commenced, immediately prepared to work for God. Whitefield was engaged from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon with people who came crying out "What shall we do to be saved?" or telling him of what God had done for their souls.

Three days afterwards, the seven just mentioned held a conference at Islington on matters of importance, concerning which Whitefield says, "What we were in doubt about, after prayer, we determined by lot, and anything else was carried on with great love, meekness and devotion. We continued in fasting and prayer till three o'clock, and then parted with a full conviction that God was going to do great things among us."

After this divine baptism, such was the power which attended Ingham's ministry, that not fewer than forty religious societies were formed in Yorkshire. At this time Ingham was in closest fellowship of heart with Wesley. In a letter of September 14th, 1739, he thus writes, "All your opposition will work together for good. The more the clergy oppose the truth the more it will prevail. I say very little about the clergy in public. I preach the truth of the gospel according to the light the Lord has given me into it, and leave it to the Lord to bless it as He pleases. I take no notice of lies and calumnies, unless I am asked whether or no they are true. It is endless to answer all that is said. Let us love our enemies and pray for them; and let us love one another, and thereby shall all men know that we are His true disciples."*

*Arminian Magazine, 1778, p. 181.

In November, 1739, Ingham became more closely connected with the Moravians, but still laboured earnestly, and drew around him a company of lay preachers, eminent among whom were three sons of Mr. Giles Batty, a man of property residing at Newby Cote, near Settle. They were the instruments of many conversions, and their societies increased to sixty in different places, and were visited every month.

Ledstone Hall, near Castleford, was at that time the residence of Lady Elizabeth Hastings, a daughter of the 7th Earl of Huntingdon, a woman of singular excellence, whose memory is yet fragrant for noble deeds in a wide circle of the adjacent country. Five sisters were on a visit to her, and the six noble ladies went to hear Mr. Ingham preach in a neighbouring parish.*

This led to an invitation to preach in Ledstone Church, and from that period Ingham became a constant visitor at the Hall, and eventually married Lady Margaret Hastings, who was one of the converts of his ministry. All the sisters were led to devote themselves to Christ and his service. They were patterns to all in meekness and humility, especially to those of their own rank and station, for they would enter the meanest cottage with pleasure to converse and join in religious exercises with the people of God.†

It appears very probable that the first visit of Charles Wesley to Yorkshire took place in the year 1742, as at that time he was preaching in the neighbourhood of Leeds.‡

During this tour he and Mr. Graves, one of his clerical friends, were invited to Ledstone Hall, where there was preaching twice a day for several successive days. The congregation usually consisted of many thousands, so that a succession of sermons, with some intervals, was preached in the course of the day to the people in the open air.§

For a few years during Lord Huntingdon's life, Ledstone Hall was visited every summer, and on these occasions there was always frequent preaching in the church. Ingham's societies increased rapidly, and spread not only in Yorkshire, but also into Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Cheshire. General meetings of the preachers and exhorters in his connexion were held frequently, and plans were formed for the better regulation of the societies, and a more general diffusion of divine truth in places which had not been visited before. Lady Huntingdon and Lady Margaret Ingham attended several of these

*Memoir of Countess of Huntingdon, I, p. 247.

†Memoir of Lady Huntingdon, I, p. 258.

‡Jackson's Life, I, p. 305. Charles Wesley.

§Memoir of Countess of Huntingdon, I, p. 254.

meetings. The assemblies were exceedingly numerous, and there was preaching in the open air. In later years Grimshaw attended these meetings and always preached, never troubling himself to ask the consent of the minister of the parish or caring whether he liked it or not. It is most probable his superiors in the Church imagined him so determined and undaunted that it would be a vain task to attempt to restrain him.

The Countess of Huntingdon was such an eminent personage in the revival of the eighteenth century as to deserve more extended notice.

We can have no higher or more reliable testimony respecting Lady Huntingdon than that of Dr. Doddridge, of Northampton, who long enjoyed her friendship and was too true a man to flatter. In a letter to Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, of Kidderminster, dated June 26th, 1750, he says: "Lady Huntingdon, for whom I desired your prayers, is wonderfully recovered. She walked with me in the garden and park, and almost wearied me, such is her recruit of strength: but the strength of her soul is amazing. I think I never saw so much of the image of God in any woman upon earth. Were I to write what I know of her, it would fill your heart with wonder, joy and praise. I must tell you one observation of hers which struck me much. 'None,' said she, 'know how to prize Christ but those who are zealous in good works. Men know not till they try what imperfect things our best works are, and how deficient we are in them; and the experience of that sweetness which attends their performance makes me more sensible of those obligations to Him, whose grace is the principle of them in our hearts.' She has God dwelling in her, and she is ever bearing testimony to the present salvation He has given us, and to the fountain of living waters which she feels springing up in her soul, so that she knows the divine original of the promises before the performance of them to her, as she knows God to be her Creator by the life He has given her."

CHAPTER II.

THE pioneer of Methodism in Yorkshire, as distinct from Moravianism, was unquestionably the brave stone mason of Birstall, John Nelson. It is therefore necessary to mark the Holy Spirit's work in him and the steps in his career which led him first to Keighley and then to Haworth.

He was amongst the greatest of God's instruments in awakening the North of England, and the work of preparation in himself is therefore a study of highest importance to all who desire to know the methods of the Almighty.

The Divine Spirit wrought so directly and strongly upon Nelson's soul in childhood, through the reading of the 20th chapter of Revelation by his father, that for twenty years he lived under conviction of sin, and most earnestly sought light and deliverance.

He had a strong impression that he ought to go to London to work. He went, but after a while returned to Birstall. But he could not rest night or day, and said, "I must go to London again. Several asked me why I would go again, since I might live at home as well as anywhere in the world. My answer was: I have something to learn that I have not yet learned: but I did not know that it was the great lesson of love to God and man."

Moorfields, where Whitefield and Wesley first preached in the open air, was originally a marsh, passable during the greater part of the year only by a causeway. In Wesley's time part of the area was laid out in gravel walks and planted with elms. But from the situation of the ground and the laxity of the police it had become a place for the rabble;—for wrestlers and boxers, mountebanks and merry-andrews, where fairs were held during holidays,—and where at all times the idle, the dissolute and the reprobate resorted.

Preaching in Moorfields was what Whitefield called attacking Satan in one of his strongholds, and many persons told him that if he attempted it he would never come away from the place alive.

On June 17th, 1739, Wesley preached his first open-air sermon in Moorfields, and there Nelson, who had previously listened to twenty sermons from Whitefield, was brought into contact with Wesley and by him led to the Saviour, Christ. Ex-

ulting in the recollection, Nelson exclaims, "Oh that was a blessed morning to my soul! As soon as Mr. Wesley got upon the stand he stroked back his hair and turned his face toward where I stood, and I thought fixed his eyes upon me. When he spoke I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me. When he had done I said, this man can tell the secrets of my heart; he hath fully described the disease of my heart; but he hath not left me there, for he hath shewed the remedy, even the blood of Jesus. Then was my soul filled with consolation through hope that God for Christ's sake would save me; neither did I doubt in such a manner any more, till within 24 hours of the time, when the Lord wrote a pardon on my heart." That supreme hour is thus described: "I went into my chamber, shut the door, and fell down on my knees, crying, '*Lord, save or I perish.*' When I had prayed till I could pray no more I got up and walked to and fro, being resolved I would neither eat nor drink till I had found the Kingdom of God. I fell down to prayer again, but found no relief, got up and walked again, then tears began to flow from my eyes like great drops of rain and I fell on my knees a third time, but now I was as dumb as a beast, and could not put up one petition if it would have saved my soul. I kneeled before the Lord some time and saw myself a criminal before the judge; then I said, 'Lord, Thy will be done, damn or save.' That moment Jesus Christ was as evidently set before the eye of my mind, as crucified for my sins, as if I had seen him with my bodily eyes; and in that instant my heart was set at liberty from guilt and tormenting fear and filled with a calm and serene peace."

Having recorded the clear conversion of Nelson we must now take note of the call and spiritual preparation of this instrument of God for the great work he had to do in Yorkshire. He says: "About ten days before Christmas I went to St. Paul's, and while I was at the Communion Table I felt such an awful sense of God rest upon me that my heart was like melting wax before Him; the love of God was so great in my heart that I thought I should have fallen to the ground, and all my prayer was, 'Thy will be done, Thy will be done.' I was so dissolved into tears of love that I could scarce take the bread, and after I had received, it was impressed upon my mind, 'I must go into Yorkshire immediately.' But I said to myself, 'If I do it will be ten pounds out of my way.' I had determined to go at May day, but I thought to stay for the sake of money would be wrong, when I believed it was the will of God I should go. From that time I have had a settled confidence and a lasting peace, and no other doctrine than that I heard from the beginning hath any place in my mind unto this day. Thereupon I

set out and found much of the Lord's presence all the way I went, but I had no more thought of preaching when I got there than I had of eating fire."*

Led thus by the Spirit, Nelson on his return to Yorkshire at once made known to his astonished family and friends that God for Christ's sake had forgiven his sins. Night after night enquirers concerning the strange experience crowded his house. His brother, six neighbours, then his wife, were clearly converted. Within three weeks the eight increased to seventeen,—the Wesleyan Methodist first-fruits of Yorkshire for God.

In a letter undated, written before Nelson had received a visit from Wesley, he describes his position and feelings: "At my coming into this country no man stood with me, but my name was cast out by professors and profane, so that I was like an owl of the desert; but a few who were bruised by the hand of God soon heard of, and received, the doctrine of *Conscious Pardon*, and in a little time seven of them found it verified in themselves.

"The people of the neighbouring towns have frequently sent for me to hear of this new doctrine, for they were quite sure no man could know of his sins being forgiven in this world. But I proved it from the written word of God, and from the doctrine of the Church of England. In a little time many cried out, 'Lord grant this thing unto me!' At the people's request I now preach every night in the week in general, and the work increases much, and yet I am (in a sense) alone. I want to have some correspondence with Mr. Wesley. My heart is knit to him as the heart of one man, and so are many of the children whom God hath called by my mouth. Some of them indeed fall into *stillness*, and they say I have the spirit of conviction, but not the gift of building up souls; however, those who stand fast, as they received Christ, are more holy and happy, and so, I think, as well built up.

"I desire that you, and all brethren, would pray that I may stand fast unto the end. The Lord works very visibly and powerfully among us: we have fresh tokens of His grace every week; yea, in some weeks six or seven are brought to the knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins; and many who have been despisers are now thanking God who hath opened their eyes."†

From an ancient manuscript we cull the following description of this first Yorkshire Methodist preacher: "Paul Smith, a leader now residing at Dewsbury, states that he has often

*This incident is taken in part from Nelson's Journal, p. 41-42, and in part from a letter of Nelson's in the *Methodist Magazine* for 1823, p. 130.

†*Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 130.

heard an old man of the name of Hirst, of Hanging Heaton, with whom he was apprenticed, talk of going to Joseph Bennett's, of Batley Carr, to hear John Nelson preach on the week nights, after he had done his work. He usually had his hammer stuck within the string of his leather apron on one side and his trowel on the other; and after giving out his text he would pull up his small clothes and begin, 'My dear brethren.' "

This indicates that Nelson went direct from his work to the town or village where service was to be held, whether near or far from the place where at the time he might be labouring. By this method he would save time, and neither he nor the people cared about the question of dress. He was the first to preach in Dewsbury, Tingley, Kirkheaton, Glasshill Hall, Staincliffe, Bristfield, and, as we shall see, in many other places.*

At this period, therefore, in the history of Nelson, we have a man as distinctly and independently called of God as Wesley himself, fitted for his life mission and successfully entering upon it. He says: "All this time I had no one to converse with, except such as wanted to turn me out of the narrow path; neither had I any correspondence with Mr. Wesley; I was as one set to labour in a field alone."

Thus was Yorkshire Methodism in its birth, a striking work of God.

In 1740 Ingham heard of the success of John Nelson. Sending for him to one of his meetings he said, "John, I believe God has called you to speak His word, for I have spoken with several since I came back from London, who, I believe, have received grace since I went; and I see God is working in a shorter manner than he did with us at the beginning, and I should be sorry to hinder any one from doing good." Then, turning to the assembled brethren and sisters, Ingham continued, "Before you all I give John leave to exhort in all my societies"; and taking the rough hand of the Yorkshire stonemason, he added, "John, God hath given you great honour, in that He hath made use of you to call sinners to the blood of our Saviour, and I desire you to exhort in all my societies as often as you can."

Lady Huntingdon also having heard much of John Nelson and the surprising success attending his exhortations, expressed a desire to see and converse with him. Accompanied by Mr. Ingham and Mr. Graves, her ladyship went to Birstal.

As Ingham was expected to preach, they found a congregation of some thousands assembled, impatiently awaiting their

*Contributed to Methodist Historical Society by Mr. C. D. Hardcastle, Leeds.

arrival. Ingham addressed the multitude from the passage, "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near." When he had concluded, John Nelson spoke for about half an hour. The Countess was delighted, and at parting told him, with her characteristic energy, that God had called him to put his hand to the plough, and great would be his punishment if he dared to look back for a moment; adding with much emphasis, "He that called you is mighty to save, fear not, press forward; He will bless your testimony."

This shows that Lady Huntingdon discerned the divine intention in the call of lay preachers almost as early as Wesley, and had no scruple about encouraging that mighty agency for the salvation of souls.*

The Countess of Huntingdon had much to do with the preaching of Thomas Maxfield. She was a member of the Society at Fetter Lane when he took charge of it in Wesley's absence. Near the end of the year 1839 she thus wrote to Wesley: "I never mentioned to you that I have seen Maxfield; he is one of the greatest instances of God's peculiar favour that I know. . . . *The first time I made him expound*, expecting little from him, I sat over against him, and thought what a power of God must be with him to make *me* give attention to him. But before he had gone over one fifth part, any one that had seen me would have thought I had been made of wood or stone, so quite immovable I both felt and looked. His power in prayer is extraordinary. To deal plainly I could either talk or write for an hour about him."†

John Cennick, in 1739, was reluctantly induced to preach at Kingswood, through the non-appearance of a sermon reader. Wesley was urged to forbid his preaching, but did not interfere.

Another lay preacher in 1740, Thomas Westall, would have been silenced by Wesley had not Mrs. Canning, a pious lady of Evesham, said: "stop him at your peril! He preaches the truth, and the Lord owns him as truly as He does you or your brother."

The story of John Wesley and Maxfield is so widely known as to need no repetition.

Charles Wesley manifested strong aversion to lay preaching. In his Journal we have the record of an early innovation of this kind, which seems to have disturbed him as much as Maxfield's preaching did John Wesley. It occurred in Islington Church-yard on April 28th, 1739. Whitefield had finished a sermon when a Mr. Bowers got up to address the people. Charles Wesley entreated him to desist, but his entreaties were

*Life of Lady Huntingdon, I, p. 254.

†Life of Countess of Huntingdon, I, p. 33.

disregarded. On Thursday, July 3rd, 1739, Charles Wesley says, "Poor wild Bowers had been laid hold on for preaching in Oxford. To-day the beadle brough him to me. I spoke to him very homely. He had nothing to reply, but promised to do so no more and thereby obtained his liberty."*

Lady Huntingdon not only encouraged Nelson and Maxfield to preach, but herself sent forth David Taylor, a servant of Lord Huntingdon, on a similar mission about the year 1740. He was a man of ability and tolerable education who was brought to God by the preaching of the first Methodists. Taylor was anxiously concerned for the state of his fellow-servants and neighbours. This induced the Countess to send him to the villages and hamlets in the immediate vicinity of Donnington Park to preach the Gospel. His word was with power and her ladyship was encouraged to extend the sphere of his usefulness. In one of these itinerant excursions in 1741, he visited Glenfield and Ratby, two villages near Leicester, and among those who heard him was Mr. Samuel Deacon, of Ratby, who being informed while at work in the field that a person had been preaching in the streets of Glenfield, and that he was going to preach again at Ratby, immediately laid down his scythe and went to hear him. The sermon made a lasting impression upon his mind and induced him to search the Scriptures. The dissoluteness and ignorance of the clergyman of his parish now struck him in a new light, and he began to reflect on his own danger, as one of the flock of so careless a shepherd. After much reading, reasoning, and perplexity, he was enabled to rely on Christ for salvation, and immediately found peace and joy in believing. Eventually Mr. Deacon became the pastor of a little church at Barton-Fabis, in Leicestershire, over which he presided fifty-two years. From this conversion, and the Church of Barton-Fabis, grew the New Connexion of Baptist Churches in the Midland Counties, formed in 1770.

David Taylor's success led Lady Huntingdon still further to extend his sphere of labour into Cheshire and Derbyshire. He commenced field preaching near Chinley, where Dr. Clegg, a Dissenting Minister, opposed the innovation in sermons and private conversation. The effect, however, was to cause several of his thoughtful hearers to espouse the cause of Methodism. Everett says that David Taylor was the instrument used in the conversion of John Bennett, a great pioneer of Methodism in Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire. Bennett was introduced to Lady Huntingdon, and by her induced to declare the things he had felt and seen; and his work was re-

*C. Wesley's Journal.

markably owned of God. Through her Ladyship he became acquainted with Messrs. Wesley and Whitefield, and was recognised as one of Wesley's helpers. Bennett's preaching was attended with great blessing, and he was instrumental in raising up many societies, which were called by his name. From a letter written by him in 1750 we may judge of the extent of his labours. "Many doors," says he, "are opened for preaching in these parts, but cannot be supplied for want of preachers. My circuit is 150 miles in two weeks, during which time I preach publicly thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies, and visiting the sick, &c."

In the early years of the Connexion, Bennett laboured in conjunction with Wesley, and attended some of the earlier conferences, but in the year 1752 he embraced doctrinal opinions opposed to those of Wesley, and separating from him had a chapel erected for his use at Warburton in Cheshire. He also itinerated in various parts of the country preaching the Gospel until the year 1759, when he finished his course with joy.

Howell Harris, to whom Wales owes very largely its evangelical revival, was another instrument directly raised by God in this time of divine quickening. He went to Oxford in 1735 to study for the church, but left in disgust at the immorality and infidelity which prevailed there. Returning to Wales, he exhorted in cottages and formed several societies. He lived and died a Churchman, but though he repeatedly sought ordination, the bishops refused it on account of his irregular labours. He was therefore perforce a great lay preacher, as though God would confound the opponents of his plans by their own weapons. He did not deliver set sermons, but poured out his thoughts and feelings, warning and exhorting the people in a manner that was most soul-stirring. In 1742, after seven years' work, he found himself supported by seven clergymen and forty lay preachers. For twelve years he and his converts did not build a single chapel. They worshipped in private houses, school rooms, barns, and in the open air. The first chapel was built at Builth in Brecknockshire in 1747. Harris's labours were apostolic. He ranged the country, preaching four or five times a day. In one round of nine weeks he visited thirteen counties, travelled a hundred and fifty miles a week, and preached two and four times a day. For seven nights he was not able to put off his clothes, as he had to meet the people and preach at midnight or very early in the morning to avoid persecution. He lived to see Wales transformed by Christian faith, and died at Trevecca on July 21st, 1773, in his seventieth year. Though divided in opinion on the question of Calvinism, Harris was owned by Wesley as a notable servant of God, and welcomed by him to his Conference as a visitor.

The providence of God is most conspicuous in this development of lay agency in connection with the great revival. The clergy of the establishment had miserably failed in the evangelization and spiritual up-building of the people. Such a result was inevitable in a church system possessing no efficient discipline, or spiritual tests. The Wesleys and their early clerical friends were too few in number to supply the spiritual wants of the nation, earnestly as they strove, and deeply as they felt the need. Foreseeing that in the nineteenth century, the dead Protestant Church of England of the eighteenth, would become largely converted into an active Romanising society, God set in operation the great lay ministry which laid the foundation of the largest Protestant communion the world has ever seen.

He made John Wesley, rather than Charles, the head of the movement; and we see why, when we notice how he could exercise self-restraint and yet advance as his brother never would have done, until his host of lay preachers had on both sides of the Atlantic demonstrated that no ecclesiastical orders are necessary for the building up of the spiritual Church of God. In this, God provided the greatest possible confutation and antidote to every form of sacerdotalism. The devil and the clergy were allowed to rage to their hearts' content that the infant societies might not be amalgamated with the organised Church, thus did God make "the wrath of men to praise Him," but the remainder He restrained, that they might live and take vigorous root. In some places the movement was not even initiated by converted clergy of the Church of England. It was the direct work of God, often in spite of them, and strikingly apart from any existing ecclesiastical organization.

CHAPTER III.

THE London Moravians, who at first were so helpful to the Wesleys and their Oxford friends, about 1739 developed Antinomian doctrines, most pernicious in their influence. Wesley clearly discerned the ultimate tendency of this teaching, and withstood it so firmly as to render himself obnoxious to all their leaders. Peter Böhler and Ingham yielded to the London teachers, and brought down into Yorkshire their new views, which they propagated with such zeal as to cause the fall of so many of Nelson's converts, that he almost despaired of the permanency of the work, and was tempted to discontinue it.

Ingham sought a private interview with Nelson, and said, "You ought not to tell people that they may know their sins forgiven; for the world cannot bear it, and if such a thing was preached, it would mean persecution." Nelson replied, "Let them quake that fear. By the grace of God, I love every man, but fear no man; and I will tell all I can, that there is such a prize to run for: if I hide it mischief will come upon me. There is a famine in the land, and I see myself in the case of one of the lepers that were at the gates of Samaria, who found provision in the enemies' camp. I believe it would be a sin not to declare to the children of men, what God hath done for my soul that they may seek for the same mercy."

Toward the end of January, 1742, Nelson had a remarkable dream. He saw John and Charles Wesley sitting by his fire-side. From the time of leaving London he had had no connection or correspondence with them and therefore said, "I can no more expect them, than I expect the King to come." Four months later on the 26th of May, John Wesley, however, came to Birstall and sent for Nelson to the inn. "Thence," he says, "I conducted him to my house and he sat down by my fire-side, in the very posture I had dreamed about four months before, and spoke the same words I dreamed he spoke." Wesley tells us that Nelson "gave him an account of the strange manner wherein he had been led on, from the time of their parting in London." Wesley remained one day in Birstall on his way to Newcastle, and three days on the return journey. All were crowded with religious services, and conversation with Nelson's converts. One incident indicates that the forma-

tion of classes under Wesley's pastoral care must have been brought to the knowledge of Nelson. He says "His (Wesley's) coming was a great blessing to my soul." I said to him, 'Sir, you may make use of Jacob's words, 'The children thou begat in Egypt before are mine.'; for I freely deliver them to your care.'" It was only in February of 1742 that the appointment of leaders began in Bristol, and on the 25th of March that Wesley introduced the same plan in London. Doubtless also Wesley and his brother Charles who visited Birstall in the same year, encouraged the zealous evangelist to enter all open doors, for we find him preaching at Armley in connection with Charles Graves, a clergyman who accompanied Charles Wesley.

The strong Methodist church in Leeds owes no little to the brave stone mason of Birstall. He was certainly the first preacher who ventured to proclaim the glorious gospel in the streets of that town. He says, "About this time (1742) William Shent, a barber, in Leeds, was converted, and there began to be an uproar there about his saying that he knew his sins forgiven. Some, however, believed his report, and had a desire to hear for themselves; neither could he be content to eat his morsel alone, for his heart panted for the salvation of all his neighbours. The Christmas following, he desired me to go and preach at Leeds."

Among the persons who heard Nelson at Shent's house was Alice Calverley, a daughter of Abraham Kershaw, who had in past days been a speaker amongst the Quakers, and who resided in Skircoat Green, near Halifax. Alice Calverley was much impressed by the truth from Nelson's lips, and on visiting her relatives at Skircoat Green, her constant theme was the new and strange doctrine she had heard at Leeds. Her statements awakened the curiosity of Blakey Spencer, who listened with wonder at the artless recital. At length he determined upon hearing this strange doctrine himself, and being informed that John Nelson would preach at Birstall on a certain day, he went to that place, and the word coming with power to his heart he partook of the glorious liberty of the children of God. Feeling deeply interested for his friends and neighbours, he again visited Birstall, and invited the preacher to come to Skircoat Green, who freely consented.

In accordance with his promise John Nelson came to Skircoat Green. The news of his coming had spread so widely that the house of Blakey Spencer was found too strait to contain the people, they therefore adjourned to Abraham Kershaw's, but before the service commenced the people had increased so much as to render an out-door service necess-

ary; accordingly the congregation stood in front of the house. A washing tub, mouth downwards, served for a pulpit, and here among huge rocks, with which the house was surrounded, far from din and tumult, Nelson preached the first sermon in the present Halifax circuit. The people were much affected; the grey headed man near eighty years of age, the owner of the house, listened with deep concern, while the big tears trickled down his furrowed cheeks. He became the first-fruits of Methodist effort in that place, and thus Nelson's visit was amply rewarded. Blakey Spencer, Kershaw, and a few others formed the first society at Skircoat Green. One of Kershaw's daughters, Elizabeth, joined the Society, and through her pressing invitation John Bennett was induced to visit that part of Yorkshire.*

Blakey Spencer, who by his invitation of Nelson introduced Methodism into the vicinity of Halifax, became a zealous local preacher, employing his talents not only to the edification of those in his immediate neighbourhood, but impelled by love to souls, he penetrated also into nooks and corners where lived people as uncultured as the soil they trod. This zealous champion preached Jesus with undaunted fortitude, amid hot persecution. In the neighbourhood of Ripponden and Stirk Bridge, he was more than once mobbed and pelted with stones. On a later occasion, about 1766, the people showed by their hostile movement, a determination to execute a threat they had before uttered. Spencer endeavoured to evade their grasp, and succeeded for a while in outstripping his pursuers; but strength failing him, they pounced like vultures on their prey. Rough treatment ensued, and it will give a glimpse of the depravity and semi-barbarism of the neighbourhood, when it is stated that this mob was composed alike of women and men. Not content with the cruel treatment of which he was the subject, Spencer was thrown upon the ground and dragged to the banks of the stream a little above Sowerby Bridge. Being at the time much swollen, the waters dashed furiously along their channel, and just opposite the spot where the mob stood was an eddy in the stream where the rushing waters formed a whirlpool. Pointing to the spot, a woman who lived hard by, and had been one of the worst of the crew, shouted with mad fury, "In with him! drown him, drown him!" The mob would have seized Spencer, to put in force this hellish mandate; but such had already been their brutal usage, that he lay senseless on the ground; they saw his state, and left him for dead. The poor sufferer lay for a considerable

*Walker, Halifax, p. 26, etc.

time insensible, but recovering, with great difficulty, and enduring intense pain, he at last crawled home. The sequel must be told. Within a few days of this occurrence, the woman above named was standing on the edge of the stream washing her mop. Holding it by the extremity of the handle, she was cleansing it in the eddy, when by the force of the stream it was sucked in, and the woman herself was drawn after. For a few moments she was whirled in the pool, and when taken out of the water her spirit had fled to appear before that God who has declared "He will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries."*

We have seen that Nelson was the first Methodist preacher who proclaimed the gospel in Leeds. Probably he had the honour to be one of the first to do the same in Sheffield, though certainly not alone in his visits. His companion was David Taylor, who had been sent forth by Lady Huntingdon. They preached in the vicinity of Sheffield in 1741 in the house of a Mr. Birks, at Thorpe. Some incidents and conversions at this time were so remarkable as to deserve record, if space permitted. They will be found in Everett's *Methodism in Sheffield*.

Having taken a wide view of the Divine origin of the Methodist revival in its various sections, and introduced the leaders of it to the readers of this history, we now turn to the movement as it affected Keighley and Haworth.

Fortunately a manuscript is in existence, which was probably read when the funeral sermon of the first Methodist in Keighley was preached. It is in the handwriting of his son-in-law, and passed from a lineal descendant, into the valuable collection of Methodist documents made by Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby. This first Methodist in the upper part of the Aire valley, was John Wilkinson, a journeyman shoemaker who had served his apprenticeship in Birstall. He resided in a cottage at the west end of an old farm house in Low Street, Keighley, occupied at the time by a Mr. Thomas Scott.

About 1738 Wilkinson married a relation or intimate acquaintance of John Nelson, sister of John Booth, of Adwalton, near Bradford, in whose house Nelson was accustomed to preach. On one of these occasions, in the year 1742, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson were visiting the Booths, and heard the new doctrine (to them) of the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins.

After the service they earnestly requested Nelson to visit Keighley, and having invited a few of their neighbours to hear the stranger preach, he declared to them the novel doctrine

*Walker, Halifax.

that men might know their sins forgiven before they die. Before Nelson went away, he desired a few of them to hold a meeting weekly, which four or five consented to do. Thus undoubtedly one of the earliest classes in Yorkshire was formed. The narrative from which these early incidents are derived relates how this first class in Keighley was conducted. "When they had sung a psalm or a hymn, they conversed together as they could, (but in a very dark and blundering manner, as you may see afterwards) then my father took up a book and read a prayer, and then concluded."

Jno. Wilkinson "being ignorant of God's righteousness, went about to establish a righteousness of his own, and to complete this work he went to church forenoon and afternoon, and read in his Bible in the intervals; and when night came he would count the chapters which he had read, and when he found he had read several he was highly pleased with himself, but much more when he thought that God was highly pleased with him." Wilkinson proceeded thus until a letter from a friend in Birstall caused him to see that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. "He knew that he had not this faith, and without it he was convinced that he could not be saved. And now he had no rest, day or night, for about twelve weeks, and then the Lord spoke peace to his soul."

Until the year 1746, John Wilkinson's class did not exceed ten members. Nearly half a century afterwards their leader said at a lovefeast that "At this period though very few in number and much persecuted, they were as happy as kings and queens." They devoted themselves to God, and He blessed and prospered them to such a degree that on Wesley's second visit to Keighley they had increased tenfold.

John Wilkinson was not only the first Methodist and the first class leader in Keighley, but also the first local preacher, and in that capacity was the instrument in God's hands of leading to the Saviour one who became a most valuable helper of the Wesleys in Yorkshire, Thomas Colbeck, a grocer and draper who had succeeded his father in one of the principal shops in the town. His parents, Thomas and Mary Colbeck, dedicated him to God by baptism at the parish church on Oct. 7th, 1723. Soon after the introduction of Methodism into Keighley, Colbeck was informed that his neighbour John Wilkinson had begun to preach, a very startling fact in those days; and more remarkable still, that he preached without a book. He was surprised and inclined to dispute the fact, knowing that Wilkinson was an uneducated man.

Hearing that he was to preach in a neighbour's house on a certain night, he obtained permission to sit in an adjoining room

during the service, unknown to the preacher. The word came with power to his heart and resulted in his conversion to God.

Colbeck would then be twenty or twenty-one years of age and in conjunction with John Wilkinson was instrumental in forming the first Methodist society in Haworth in 1744 or 1745.

Probably at their invitation, John Nelson preached in the Old Hall still standing opposite Hall Green Chapel. The incumbent of Haworth, the Rev W. Grimshaw, knew nothing of Methodism at that time, and a tradition of the village is that Nelson's intended visit having been announced, Grimshaw charged his people not to go near him, as he understood that wherever the Methodists went they turned everything upside down. A poor woman resolved, however, that she would go to the service, whatever might be the consequence. Many were present, and to her great surprise, Nelson gave out as his text, "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." She listened attentively, and rested not until she became a new creature in Christ Jesus.

Thomas Colbeck became the second class leader and local preacher in Keighley, and was made widely useful. Grimshaw, in a letter to Dr. Gillies, of Glasgow, July 19th, 1784, says: "About the year 1744 God was pleased to visit Keighley (a market town three miles (4) from Haworth), Silsden, Sutton, Addingham, Menston, Bingley, Baildon, and many other places. The Lord has done wonderful things in all these places. One Thomas Colbeck has been one main instrument, with some others, Jonathan Maskew, Paul Greenwood, &c., in His gracious hands here."

We shall hear much of the two latter in due course. Grimshaw's date doubtless refers to the establishment of regular public preaching in Keighley and the surrounding places. Colbeck preached to large congregations.

Mr. Peter Wright, an old local preacher well known to me, remembered when a youth hearing an old woman, named Mary Hall, say that she once listened to a very impressive sermon delivered by him to an immense crowd in the Market Place of Keighley, from the text Numb. xxxii., 23, "Be sure your sin will find you out." It resulted in bringing many to the chapel and meetings.

So great was the esteem of Mr. Grimshaw for him that he could not repress an indication of it once when administering the Sacrament. Colbeck was accustomed to go to Haworth Church on such occasions, and as the minister handed the cup to him he was just finishing the declaration "that was shed for thee," when he gently touched Colbeck's ear and said, "And for thee too, Tommy."

Colbeck and Wilkinson preached in Wilkinson's house, and were occasionally visited by Nelson and other preachers from the neighbourhood, and by several of Wesley's earliest itinerant ministers and helpers.

Tradition says that on one occasion when Nelson was preaching in Scott's Yard, near Wilkinson's cottage, a number of men agreed to pull the preacher from the chair and drive him out of the town. Scott being a powerful man and owner of the premises, they requested him to lead them to the assault. He placed himself at their head and stationed himself and company in the vicinity of the chair. Being urged to proceed, he advised that they should first hear what the preacher had to say, and if it did not suit them, then would be the time to punish him. One of the party, however, impatient of delay, began to cause a disturbance, when Scott knocked him down and threatened to do the same to any man who molested Nelson until the sermon was over. At the conclusion of the service the people—many of whom were much affected by the word—walked quietly away, and Scott invited Nelson into his house, and was ever after a friend to the Methodists, his wife and daughter becoming members of the society.

On another occasion Jonathan Reeves was the preacher and was apprehended while preaching at Keighley and conducted to York Castle by the Keighley Constable. Wesley, in his powerful "Appeal to men of reason and religion" on behalf of the persecuted Methodists, is our informant as to this incident. He tells us that on the 4th of December, 1745, the Rev. Henry Wickham, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, wrote an order to the Constable of Keighley, commanding him "to convey the body of Jonathan Reeves (whose real crime is the calling of sinners to repentance), to His Majesty's gaol and Castle of York, suspected," said the precept, "of being a spy among us, and a dangerous man to the person and government of His Majesty King George."*

This was the year of the Scottish Rebellion under the young Pretender, and the enemies of Methodism made many attempts in different parts of the country to identify the preachers with the rebels, in order to get them imprisoned or banished from the kingdom. But the King had few more loyal subjects than the Methodists, for in that very year, 1745, the Rev. C. Wesley published a volume of hymns containing among others two special prayers "For His Majesty King George."

*The Rev. H. Wickham was Vicar of Guiseley from 1724 to 1772. On another occasion he signed a warrant for the apprehension of Mr. Wesley as a vagabond. See also Mitchell's life, p. 71.

Jonathan Reeves was held for some years in high esteem by Wesley and was remarkably blessed to the people of Ireland where he laboured in 1749 and 1750. He relates his experiences in a letter to Mr. Wesley dated July 24th, 1749. From sentences in this letter it appears that it was customary in those days to act as in times of more recent revival, and Reeves gives good reason for the usage. "What a blessing it is," says he, "when any one finds that peace (the peace of God), he declares it openly before all the people, that we may break off and praise God. If this was always done, it would be good for many souls. The first that found it on Sunday evening spoke before all, and we praised God. The moment she spoke, another, and then another found peace, and each of them spoke aloud and made the fire run through the whole congregation."*

Reeves continued to preach in Wesley's connexion until he was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England in the year 1760.†

The members of the little society at Keighley were not without their troubles. John Wilkinson was threatened with the loss of his employment if he did not give up his new religion, as it was called. He mentioned the circumstance to his friends at Birstall, and they immediately advanced him a small sum of money that he might commence business on his own account; he did so and prospered in it.

*Wesley's Journals, ii, 153.

†Reeves was probably a native of Birstall. See Nelson's Journal, p. 81.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN the Stuart rebellion was expected in 1744, commissioners were appointed with authority to impress as soldiers all who were brought before them whose lives were disorderly, or who had no apparent means of obtaining an honest livelihood. One of these commissioners was the Rev. Mr. Coleby, Vicar of Birstall, who appears to have been Nelson's bitterest enemy. To rid the parish and West Riding of him, he had Nelson arrested while preaching at Adwalton in the house of John Booth on May 4th, 1744.

Unquestionable evidence was produced to prove that Nelson was not the character over whom the commissioners had jurisdiction, but all to no purpose. The vicar persisted and secured his condemnation. This was at Halifax, from whence Nelson was taken to Bradford. Nelson says: "When we were about half way between Halifax and Bradford one of the soldiers said to me, Sir, I am sorry for you, for the captain is ordered by the commissioners to put you in the dungeon; but I will speak to him; and if he will let me have the care of you, you shall lie with me, for the dungeon is as loathsome a place as ever I saw. I thanked him for his offer, and when we got to Bradford, we were drawn up in the street where the cross stood." This was the triangular opening at the top of Kirkgate. Two sides of the opening were occupied by butchers' shambles, having slaughter houses in the immediate neighbourhood. I well remember the dungeon and the old shops over it. It is said to have been divided into two compartments, for male and female prisoners, each about three yards square. "The captain went and fetched the people of the dungeon, and said, 'Take this man, and put him in the dungeon, and take this other along with you' (a poor, harmless man, all the clothes on whose back were not worth a shilling: neither did they lay anything to his charge, when he was ordered for a soldier). But when we came to the dungeon door, the soldier who spoke to me by the way, went to the captain, and said, 'Sir, if you will give me charge over Mr. Nelson, my life for his, he shall be forthcoming in the morning.' But the captain threatened to break his head if he spoke about me any more. A little water which I asked was refused me by the captain, although I had had nothing all the day, except a little tea in the morning. But my

Master never sends His servants a warfare at their own charge : He gives strength according to the day, for when I came into the dungeon, that stunk worse than a hog sty by reason of the blood and filth which sink from the butchers who kill over it, my soul was so filled with the love of God, that it was a paradise to me.

"About ten, several of the people came to the dungeon door, and brought me some candles, and put me some meat and water in through the hole of the door. When I had eaten and drunk, I gave God thanks; and we sang hymns almost all night, they without, I within.

"The same night, a man that lives in Bradford, came to the dungeon, and though he was an enemy to the Methodists, when he smelt the ill savour of the place, said, 'Humanity moves me.' He went away directly, and about eleven came again, and said, 'I will assure you that I am not in your way of thinking; but for all that, I have been with your captain, and offered him ten pounds bail for you, and myself as prisoner, if he will let you lie in a bed; but all in vain for I can get nothing from him but bad words. If the justice were in town, I would have gone to him, and would soon have fetched you out. But since it is as it is, I pray God plead your cause.'"

The name of this man, James Eastwood, an innkeeper in Ivegate, deserves to be remembered. Among those who took part in the prayer meeting held at the door of the dungeon were Nelson's brother Joseph, Hannah Scholefield, and Martha Cowling, of Birstall, John Murgatroyd, of Gildersome, and Betty Firth, of Great Horton. The prisoners had not even a stone to sit upon, but only a little foul straw to lie down on. "At four in the morning," Nelson says, "My wife and several more came to the dungeon, and spoke to me through the hole of the door, and I said, 'Jeremiah's lot is fallen upon me!' My wife said, 'Fear not, the cause is God's, for which you are here, and He will plead it himself: therefore be not concerned for me and the children; He that feeds the young ravens will be merciful to us: He will give you strength for your day; and after we have suffered awhile, He will perfect that which is lacking in our souls, and then bring us where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.' So they all said that were with her at the door." Several of these Christian friends had walked from five to seven miles, in the dead of the night, to sympathise with their imprisoned preacher.*

"About five in the morning," says Nelson, they took me out and we were guarded to Leeds, and stood in the street till ten. Hundreds flocked to see me. Some said, 'It is a shame

*Stamp, Bradford, 15.

to send a man for a soldier for speaking the truth; for many of our neighbours that follow the Methodists, and were as wicked before as any people in the town, are now like new creatures; we don't hear an ill word come out of their mouths.' Others cried, 'I wish they were all hanged out of the way, for they make people go mad. One cannot get drunk or swear, but every fool must correct us, as if we were to be taught by them. But I hope they will now be brought to nought, for this man is one of the worst of them.' "

Mark the providence of God in the arrest and the prolonged detention and suffering of His servant.

He was undoubtedly the very opposite of the characters the law intended to be taken for the army. His detention was a great injustice and appeared to be the stoppage of a glorious work. How was it that God did not crown the efforts of Nelson's friends for his release, or better treatment, with more success? A Mr. Charlesworth offered £500 bail for Nelson on the day of his arrest. A Mr. Brooke appeared for him before the commissioners. In Leeds several would have given bail for him, but here again £100 was refused even for a night's release from prison. Why was this permitted?

Subsequent events show us that only by a man brave as Daniel; only by a suffering witness could God awaken Bradford, York, and other towns right on to Newcastle, and He found His man in Nelson, and therefore let him undergo these great trials, supporting him marvellously all the while.

On his way to York, as he was standing in Leeds among the soldiers, he says, "A jolly, well dressed woman came up to me, and put her face almost to mine, and said, 'Now, Nelson, where is thy God? Thou said'st at Shent's door, as thou wast preaching, thou wast no more afraid of His promise failing, than thou wast of dropping through the heart of the earth.' I replied, 'Look in the 7th Chapter of Micah, 8th and 10th verses.' *'Rejoice not against me O mine enemy: when I fall I shall arise; when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me. . . . Then mine enemy shall see it; and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God? Mine eyes shall behold her; now shall she be trodden down as the mire of the streets.'* "

Wherever Nelson went, among officers, soldiers, citizens, or in prison, he reproved sin, defended truth, and preached the gospel as only a man under divine influence can preach. His knowledge and use of scripture, and his strong common sense was that of a man taught of God, and its effects were manifest and lasting. The few and feeble societies in Birstall, Keighley, &c., doubtless felt as sheep without a shepherd, and to them at

the time God's providence would be inscrutable, but we now see that at the King's cost, and practically guarded from mob violence by his position as a conscript, Nelson was being conducted from town to town to sow seed which even to day is producing fruit. On the journey of the conscripts North, Nelson came to York, and appears to have been the first to introduce Methodism into that city. Hear the account of the reception of this notable confessor by the bad and good of York. "We were guarded through the city; but it was as if hell were moved beneath to meet me at my coming. The streets and windows were filled with people, who shouted, and huzzaed, as if I had been one that had laid waste the nation. But the Lord made my brow like brass, so that I could look on them as grasshoppers, and pass through the city as if there had been none in it but God and myself."

"I found that the people at York looked upon one that is called a Methodist as one who had the plague, and infects all he comes near, and they blessed God that none had come to preach there."

"On Sunday, the 13th, at night, Hannah Scholefield and I, with our brother Houghton from Manchester, and two or three more, went into the fields thinking to retire; but some had seen us and told others that we were going to sing hymns. In a few minutes we had over a hundred to keep us company. We sang two hymns and I gave them an exhortation. They received my word with meekness and wished to hear me again. We went a mile another way, but there were people walking there also, who, knowing me, flocked to us, and desired to hear what sort of doctrine it was which caused all men to hate us. By this time a good company were come together, desiring to hear me, and God gave me to speak plainly, and to their hearts. When I had done, several of them said they would go ten miles to hear such another discourse. The prejudice seemed taken out of their minds at a stroke, and they cried, 'This is the doctrine which ought to be preached, let men say what they will against it.'

"I had some every day to dispute with me, and every night some to converse with me, who wanted to know the way to Zion. The people now cried out, 'When will Mr. Wesley come, for here are thousands in this town that would gladly hear him?' Indeed I found a great desire in them to know the way of salvation; yea, and they seemed willing to be saved in God's own way, that is *from* their sins, not *in* them. Surely the Lord will be mindful of them, and give them teachers after his own heart."

John Wesley saw the purpose of God in these trials appoint-

ed for His servant, and wrote to him while at York: "Who knows how many souls God may by this means deliver into your hands? Shall not all these things be for the furtherance of the gospel?"

To encourage the captive brother the great evangelist travelled to Durham and thus exhorted him: "Brother Nelson, lose no time; speak and spare not, for God hath work for you to do in every place where your lot is cast, and when you have fulfilled His good pleasure, He will break your bonds in sunder, and we shall rejoice together."

Lady Huntingdon did not forget the Yorkshire mason thus unlawfully impressed into the army, but exerted all her influence to obtain his discharge. She obtained an interview with the Earl of Sunderland, Brigadier General of the King's forces. On a faithful representation of the case, his lordship promised that the captive preachers, Nelson and Beard, should be set at liberty in a few days. This intelligence was communicated to Nelson by Charles Wesley, while her ladyship wrote to inform Mr. Ingham, who also had taken an active part in seeking Nelson's release, of the success of her application.*

Charles Wesley, then in London, says, under date Monday, May 14th, 1744, "We prayed mightily for our dear brother Nelson, pressed for a soldier, and a prisoner at York."

On Wednesday, June 6th, he says, "Toward the end of my discourse at the Chapel, Mr. Erskine was sent to receive a soldier brought by Mr. Shent, to redeem John Nelson. He immediately took him to Lord Stair's, and got a discharge for John Nelson. Our brother Downes also was received out of the mouth of the lion. Our prayers return thick upon us."

As Nelson returned home after his release, he says concerning Leeds, "I preached in an open yard, to a large company of rich and poor, that did not attend our preaching before I was sent as a soldier. Thus we see that which the enemies of the Lord Jesus do to hinder His gospel, helps to enlarge His kingdom. Not one in Leeds opened his mouth against me, but hundreds said they were glad to see me at liberty again."

"After some time," he says, "I went to York, and found the seed sown in my captivity had sprung up, for nineteen had found peace with God, and twice as many were under conviction, though they had no one to instruct them in my absence; but the little books I had left them, viz., the sermon on 'Awake thou that sleepest, etc.,' had been of great use to them."

* Lady Huntingdon's Memoir, I, p. 258.

A letter also reached Nelson from Sunderland, which induced him ere long to visit that town. "Two men that had conversed with me, when I was a captive there, had found the Lord; and they said that their souls panted for the salvation of their neighbours. So I see that God leads the blind by a way that they know not, for I thought that all I had said there was as water spilt on the ground. Soon after I went to Newcastle, and laboured there about three months, and had an opportunity to visit them at Sunderland. I preached upon the cross to the greatest part of the town, who behaved well, and stood all the time, though the snow was eight or nine inches deep, I went there as often as I could, and God visited many with His salvation then, as also at Painshee and Biddick, who blessed God that I had been sent among them. They said that they would pray for our minister (the vicar of Birstall) who was the cause of my coming; for they were more beholden to him than to me; and let him intend what he would, they had reason to bless God on his behalf."

Even at Birstall the brave endurance and forgiving spirit of this bold confessor bore fruit. In a letter to Mr. Wesley dated February 1st, 1747, Nelson says, "We have a great awakening in this place also, occasioned by the death of an old gentleman that was concerned in sending me for a soldier. About two months before he died, he sent for me, and I spake plain to him; he trembled and wept bitterly, and desired me to come again; and I found him under as great convictions as ever I saw a man. After my third visit he told me God had visited him with great love; so that all pain both of body and soul departed from him for some time. His pain of body returned, but he found God had got a deal of work to do in his soul. I was with him the day before he died, and he said, 'Last night at twelve o'clock God changed me, and I have as great encouragement to die as ever man had.' He desired me to preach over him, and continued to praise God, and to tell every one that came near him what God had done for his soul. He never complained of either pain or sickness, but seemed to be sanctified body, soul, and spirit. I preached over him and God laid his hand upon many that had been enemies before. Now they flock to hear the word, and the Lord works amongst us."³*

In those days the preacher stood in the street,—the coffin of the deceased in front of him, and literally preached over the dead. What a truly Christian scene! The fearless confessor declaring the gospel of salvation over the body of his former foe, subdued, saved, and glorified,—in the presence of the dead man's confederates, and overcoming them also by the word of truth and love.

*Arminian Magazine, 1778, p. 530.

The penitent persecutor found mercy. Judgment equally striking fell upon the presumptuous. Gibson, the deputy constable, who seized this man of God at Adwalton, after having repeatedly declared that if his arm rotted from his shoulder, he himself would "press Nelson," realised but too soon, the consequences of his daring. Paralysis succeeded inflammation, and the use of his arm never returned. What the personal history of the vicar of Birstall was, after the transaction which alone has made him notorious, is shrouded in oblivion. "It is however, a fact well known, that his only child must have sought an asylum in the parish workhouse, but for the united contributions of some Church friends and Methodists."*

Reverting to the proceedings of Nelson, we find in the year 1746, Betty Firth of Great Horton, one of the little company who held the prayer meeting at the dungeon door in Ivegate, Bradford, became the housekeeper of her uncle, Matthew Sugden of Low Moor, then called Wibsey Moor. Though not a Methodist, Sugden so far acceded to the wishes of his niece, as to allow John Nelson to preach every other week beneath his roof. Edward R. Leeds, Esq., one of the Magistrates of the West Riding, was at that period the owner of the property, and hearing of Nelson preaching in the house of one of his tenants, threatened Sugden with summary ejection, should he venture to transgress a second time. Sugden, in defending himself, threw all the blame upon his niece, but respectfully requested that the landlord, ere carrying his threat into execution, would hear Nelson for himself. He did so, and although in no respect whatever a religious man, was so pleased with what he saw and heard, as to befriend the mason-preacher ever after. Squire Leeds, like many others, was deeply impressed by the godliness, shrewdness, and noble courage of this brave English workman, and invited him on one occasion to dine with him at Milford Hall, near Tadcaster, which was also one of his houses. If the following incident refers to Squire Leeds, as it probably does, the magistrate and the Methodist must have taken a great liking to each other, for Nelson without giving the name, says that on a journey "I called at a gentleman's house, where was much company, and he insisted I should stay and dine with him." To this invitation Nelson replied, "'Sir, I don't care to affront you in your own house.' 'What do you mean?' he said. I answered, 'If I affront the gentlemen at your table, it will affront you; and I do not expect to sit at the table to-day, but I shall hear the name of the Lord blasphemed: though there are two clergymen in the company; and if I do I must reprove them, or carry a guilty conscience home, which I will not do for all you have.' He said,

*Stamp, Bradford, p. 14.

'I insist of you to dine with me; and you are welcome to reprove sin; and if I be guilty, reprove me first.' I said, 'You sir, as soon as anyone, or I should not love your soul as well as another's.' " Then follows a graphic account of the conversation at table, showing how faithful to his God, and how true to his vocation as a winner of souls this man of God could be.

Milford Hall is well-known to me. It has been tenanted since the days of Squire Leeds by more than one Methodist. The village of Ulleskelf, near Milford Hall, appears to have been the first place in what was afterwards called the York Circuit, which could boast of a Methodist Society. John Nelson was the first preacher who visited it, probably on the occasion to which I have already referred. So far from being offended by the outspokenness of his guest, Mr. Leeds of his own accord accompanied the preacher to the village, in order to protect him from the brutality of a people awfully sunk in ignorance and sin. Nelson took his stand in the open air, and proclaimed to a large congregation the unsearchable riches of Christ. Some of these Christian savages came with a full determination to fight for the church, which appeared to them to be in danger. One of the most zealous and active was George Tricket, a farmer in Ulleskelf; he had filled his pockets with stones to throw at the preacher; but on observing Mr. Leeds, who was a magistrate, standing near Nelson, he did not dare to commence hostilities immediately, but waited for a favourable opportunity. While thus waiting, the light of divine truth penetrated the darkness of his mind, and the word reached his heart. He felt himself to be a sinner, and stood like a condemned criminal before his judge. He dropped the stones behind him, one after another, unobserved; but he could not so easily shake off his guilt; for when he had divested himself of his carnal weapons, he fell to the ground, and gave vent to his feelings by crying aloud for mercy. He was the first fruits of Methodism in this part of Yorkshire, and became an eminently holy man. He was a worthy class leader in Ulleskelf for more than forty years, and died as he had lived, triumphing in redeeming love. Though Mr. Leeds never became a member of the Methodist Society, he was always friendly; and through his influence persecution was never permitted to rear its head, so that Ulleskelf was to some of the first Methodist Preachers what Zoar was to Lot. When persecution raged at York, and many other places, here they were always protected. I must leave Nelson for the present, referring the reader to his journal for many other incidents of thrilling interest, recorded in the same vigorous style as those now given, and invaluable as landmarks of Methodist history.

CHAPTER V.

FOR any special work God has always made choice of instruments peculiarly fitted for the task, and adapted to lay hold of the people to be dealt with. This was peculiarly the case with the Rev. William Grimshaw, one of the greatest evangelists of the North of England, a man to whom justice has never been fully done for the extent of his labour, and the great influence of his piety and character in Yorkshire and Lancashire. We shall see that his awakening, as in the case of Nelson, was a direct act of God, apart from human instrumentality. Fortunately we have the narrative from one to whom Grimshaw directly communicated his experiences.

Through the kindness of my friend, Mr. G. Stampe, of Grimsby, I am enabled to insert a letter without signature written from Wellington, July 21st, 1746. It is evidently copied from a letter written by Mr. Joseph Williams, of Kidderminster, being in all essential matters the same as one he wrote to the Rev. Malachi Blake, of Blandford, on March 5th, 1745. It however contains additional information, and is therefore inserted instead of the letter of Williams, which may be seen in Myles' Life of Grimshaw, p. 12.

“ Wellington, July 21st, 1746.

Dear Sir,

I am now, according to promise, sat down to transcribe the remarkable relation both as to the conversion and success of the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, a curate of Haworth, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, which an ingenuous and pious correspondent of mine lately transmitted to me in a letter as what he heard from himself in February last when he visited him. The substance, says my friend, of what I learned from him, as touching his conversion and success, is as follows, viz: Mr. Grimshaw is now 38 years of age, was bred at Cambridge, where for two years he was sober and diligent. Then, falling into bad company, he learned to drink and swear, and became as vile as the worst. However, when he had finished his studies he took orders and had a good curateship at Todmorden quickly provided for him. Imagining, not without reason, that his friends if he appeared in his proper shape, would think their money not well laid out in his education, he rather artfully concealed his wickedness than reformed. He refrained as much as possible from gross

swearing, unless in suitable company, and when he got drunk would take care to sleep it out before he came home. Thus he continued about nine years a blind leader of the blind. But about six years ago it pleased God to bring him under awakening and terrifying convictions, without any remarkable means, by the immediate influences of His Holy Spirit. Thereupon, being ignorant of God's righteousness, he went about to establish his own, reformed in every branch and every relation, abstained from every immorality, said many prayers, spent much time in reading and meditation, and that he might leave nothing undone that he could possibly do, he kept two diaries, in one of which, after daily close examination of his heart and ways, he recorded every particular sin he could recollect, then confessed, begged of God pardon, repented, resolved, and prayed for more strength and grace. All this while he was beset sorely with horrid temptations; was tempted to disbelieve his Bible, to think God a hard Master, to despise and undervalue the works of God, to believe Christ to be no more than a mere man, to blaspheme and curse God, and that with the elements of the Lord's Supper on his tongue, &c. Meeting with 'Brooke's Precious Remedies against Satan's Devices,' and finding the cases there described to tally with his own exactly, he was convinced he was Satan's easy prey, and led about captive by him as he pleased, which brought him to the brink of despair. About this time two of his parishioners attempted to make away with themselves, one by hanging himself, the other by cutting his throat, but the life of each was remarkably preserved. Being sent for to him who had cut his throat, his first thought was, he did not know how soon he might do so too. Fifteen months he lay under a spirit of bondage, wrestling not only against flesh and blood, but against angels, &c., and in his own strength, therefore he gained no advantage over his spiritual enemies. The reformation in his deportment and manner of life was conspicuous. He was cried up for a saint, and even the wife of his bosom could bear him witness, that never was any man more changed for the better. But still his heart knew its own bitterness. At last the time for his deliverance came. He being at a friend's house, laid his hand on a book which lay in his way: the moment he opened it, with his face towards a shelf of pewter dishes, an uncommon heat flushed in his face, which surprised him; and turning about he could (not) imagine how the pewter could reflect the heat of the fire at such a distance. Turning to the title page he saw it was *Dr. Owen on Satisfaction*, and immediately his face was saluted with such another flash which renewed his surprise. Dipping here and there in the book, he saw something he wanted to be better instructed

in, and therefore studies it well, is illuminated, hath a new heart given him, and now, Behold he prayeth. He had for a good while been accustomed to intermingle some extempore petitions with his forms, and now he is taught to pour out his soul in prayer before God in the Name of Christ. He saw his need of a Saviour and the freeness, fulness, and suitableness of His grace and merits, and embraces Him in both his arms. After this he did not long continue in that curateship of Todmorden. Nor do I remember any remarkable success he had there. About four years ago he removed to Haworth, which is a curateship belonging to Bradforth. He presently began to preach Christ and the necessity of conversion, and brought forth early fruits of his ministry amongst people as ignorant and brutish as the country is wild and savage. And now, dear Sir, expect a strange relation. . . . One Lord's Day as he was reading the Common Prayer he was seized with a giddiness, or swimming, which prevailed so far that he found himself incapable of proceeding, and thereupon beckoning to a man that was near, desired he might be helped out of the church, for he was very ill. Imagining it a death seizure, he all the way through the churchyard to the clerk's house, most earnestly exhorted all about him to prepare for death, to be always ready to fly to Christ and to abide in Him, etc. As soon as he sat down in the parlour, where he gave one this relation, he found that his arms for an hand-breadth above the elbows, and his legs for a hand-breadth above his knees, were cold as death, and thereupon those about him rubbed and chafed his limbs with a supply of hot cloths, for an hour or more, but he got no heat. While this was doing, he sitting in an erect posture, with eyes open and lifted up to the ceiling, fell into a trance. He thought he saw a dark foul passage, into which he thought he must go, and being entered, saw as it were a very great high wall on the right hand which was Heaven, and another on the left which was Hell. He thought he overheard God the Father holding a conference with the Lord Jesus Christ concerning him, and for a long time it seemed to go very hard against him; for God the Father would not save him because he had not wholly relinquished his own righteousness, to trust solely and entirely in the merits and righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, but the Lord Jesus pleaded for him. A long time he was held in suspense, hoping and fearing, for still it seemed to go hard against him. At last he thought he evidently saw the Lord Jesus put down His hands and feet as it were below the ceiling, and he had time enough to see the nail holes in them, which he observed to be ragged and blueish, and fresh blood streaming from each of them. Instantly he was filled with a joyful sense

of his interest in Christ. His legs and arms grew comfortably warm on a sudden, and the vision disappearing, he rose up and found himself perfectly well, and cheerfully performed the evening service."

Those who believe in Divine baptism for special work, will no more treat with lightness the incident now narrated, than they would the narrative of Pentecost. From a reference to it in a solemn covenant made with God in 1752, it is evident that Grimshaw regarded it as a wonderful manifestation of the Deity. To him it was a visitation too solemn and sacred to be made the subject of conversation with even his most intimate friends. The Rev. John Newton says,—“I have had several long and interesting conversations with Mr. Grimshaw, but never heard him mention it; and I do not find that such of his intimate friends as are yet living, were acquainted with many of the particulars related in a letter written by Mr. Joseph Williams, of Kidderminster, a man of unquestionable veracity.” Newton also tells us that “In the afternoon of that memorable Sabbath Grimshaw performed service in the Church, which began at two o’clock, and preached and spoke so long to the people, that it was seven in the evening before he returned home.”

The writer of the letter from Wellington goes on to say: “Since that trance he has never lost sight of his evidence, his heart is kept warm with the blood and love of Christ, and his ministration in the Gospel hath been so remarkably owned of God, that he reckons six score souls savingly renewed, whom as fast as he can discover God evidences a thorough work in their hearts, he forms into classes of ten or twelve each, and takes care to set over every class one man who hath the gift of prayer, who also watches over his class, marks the increase or decay of the work, the individuals of which these heads of classes give an account to the pastor at meetings he now and then holds with them. He observes there in such a diversity in the Spirit’s operations, that scarce any two of them have been wrought upon in the same way. Some have sunk down in the Church under a terrifying sense of Divine wrath, whilst others have been drawn with the cords of love. Some have received a sealed pardon in a few weeks or days, while others have been held many months under a spirit of bondage. In all this work, he acknowledges he has had a great deal of assistance from two laymen in his parish, who, with his approbation, expounded the Scriptures, and gave exhortations to great numbers, who almost every day attend on them in private houses; and more than once he told me, with an air of pleasure, that he verily believed God had converted as many by their services as by his

own. Of these exhorters one holds particular election, the other universal redemption; his business is to hold the balance as even as he can. "He hath about 400 families in his parish, of which he visits 8. 10. or 12 every week, not individually, but several meet together in one house. He hath commonly 1000 hearers, 1100 to 1200 sometimes, one hundred of which in the summer time resort to his ministry from neighbouring parishes. Many wait for him on the Lord's Day and open their cares to him freely before whomsoever. Our hearts were so knit together in love, tho' I told him I was a Presbyterian, that he almost conjured me to make his house my home, house and all, as oft as I go that way in my business; and at parting, once and again, on bended knees, gave me his benediction. Would to God such a spirit prevailed more universally. N.B.—It's very remarkable this Clergyman never has seen or heard any of the Methodists."

From this letter we find that entirely independent of all conference with others, Grimshaw was led, like Lady Huntingdon, Ingham, and the Wesleys, to employ lay preachers. The two alluded to by Williams, we are told by Myles in his Life of Grimshaw, were Jonathan Maskew and Paul Greenwood. They were known in Rossendale, in Lancashire, by the appellation of "Mr. Grimshaw's Men." Myles gathered much information in Rochdale (where he was stationed in 1798) which was in Grimshaw's Circuit, and he is likely to be correct as these men would be remembered then. Hardy thinks Darney was one of them, because Williams in his journal says, "Mr. Grimshaw told me that in the good work carried on in his parish he hath had much assistance from two laymen—the one a Scotchman, and an old disciple; the other a parishioner, converted, as he supposeth, under his own ministry." Grimshaw probably named Darney along with the two preachers who figure in the earlier letter as "laymen in his parish," and as his wide labours would be spoken of, it is quite possible that in writing recollections of the interview in his diary, Williams made Darney one of the two designated *Grimshaw's Men*. There is abundant evidence that Darney previous to that time was living in Lancashire, forming societies of his own, and not at all likely to act under Mr. Grimshaw's strict supervision, as these men did. Also in the letter to Blake, Williams expressly says they "were both (he thinks) converted by his (Grimshaw's) ministry"; whereas Darney was converted and a preacher before Grimshaw knew him. How the work of God arose and was carried on locally cannot be better related than in Grimshaw's words in his letter to Gillies: "In this year (1742) our dear Lord was pleased to visit my parish (Haworth). A few souls were

affected under the word, brought to see their lost estate by nature and to experience peace through faith in the blood of Jesus. My church began to be crowded, insomuch that many were obliged to stand out of doors. Here, as in other places, it was amazing to hear and see what weeping, roaring, and agonies many people were seized with at the apprehension of their sinful estate, and the wrath of God." This statement clearly proves that not only Grimshaw's conversion, but also the awakening produced by his preaching was independent of human direction or origin from without; it was a part of that work of the Holy Spirit which at that time was breaking out in different parts of England by so many and such varied agents. Substantially the same doctrines, though quite independently, were preached by the Wesleys, Ingham, Grimshaw, Berridge, and others; and like spiritual experiences followed. Very peculiar convulsions of body also attended the awakening of some persons, to which both the Wesleys and Grimshaw make reference.

When Satan's dominion is seriously attacked he may be expected to oppose the work of God with fierce determination, and in every possible way to discredit it. In this revival accordingly we find that really awakened souls were in many cases only delivered, as in the case of the possessed in Christ's time, after violent physical convulsions. These cases of excessive distress were mixed up with others of weak emotional temperament, and the leaders of the work saw that Satan was thus endeavouring to bring it into disrepute by the charge of wild enthusiasm, and hence at an early date, they did all they could to discourage fanaticism. Charles Wesley especially took active steps against what he called "*fits*." June 4, 1743, he says, when at Newcastle: "I went on at five expounding the Acts. Some stumbling blocks, with the help of God, I have removed, particularly the fits. Many, no doubt, were, at our first preaching, struck down, both soul and body, into the depth of distress. Their *outward affections* were easy to be imitated. Many counterfeits I have already detected. To-day, one who came from the alehouse, drunk, was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment, and beat himself heartily. I thought it a pity to hinder him; so, instead of singing over him, as had been often done, we left him to recover at his leisure." On June 15th, 1743, Charles Wesley says: "I observed at Newcastle that many more of the gentry come now the stumbling block of the *fits* is taken out of their way; and I am more and more convinced it was a device of Satan to stop the course of the Gospel. Since I have preached it, if I can discern anything, it never had greater success than at this time. Yet we have no fits

among us, and I have done nothing to prevent them, only declared that I do not think the better of anyone for crying out or interrupting my work."*

That Grimshaw held similar opinions is evident from his letter to Gillies, July 19th, 1754: "Soon after the devil observing such crying and distress of soul, and agitation of body affecting people under the word, he also began to seize people under the word with strange unnatural distortions, convulsions, hideous roarings; to bring, as we plainly saw, contempt and disgrace on the true work of God; for it is remarkable that the generality of such persons, whatsoever pretence of repentance they might then make, dwindled away to nothing. For seven years past, the cryings and agitations in sincere penitents are in a manner ceased and are rarely seen or heard of. The Lord Jesus now carries on His work in the heart in a still, serious, affecting way, and I trust with as great success as ever since it began."

Charles Wesley seems to rejoice in the countenance of the gentry as one of the results of the suppression of fits. Grimshaw was doubtful as to the ultimate good of such accessions. He says, "Whereas this work took place at first mainly among the illiterate, poor and vulgar, it of late has gained the credit and esteem of the more wealthy, wise and learned sort of people. Many such, in most places, are come to experience the life, peace and power of Christ Jesus in their souls. That so it is, is well for them indeed; but whether it presages well for the future prosperity of this work I will not say."† What Grimshaw hesitated to say John Wesley said with the greatest plainness. On Wednesday, July 11th, 1764, he says, "I gave all our brethren a solemn warning not to love the world, or the things of the world. This is one way whereby Satan will surely endeavour to overthrow the present work of God. Riches swiftly increase on many Methodists, so called; what but the mighty power of God can hinder their setting their hearts upon them? And if so the life of God vanishes away."‡

* C. W. Journal.

† Gillies, 508.

‡ See also vol. 6, 265; 7, 268 to 289.

CHAPTER VI.

WE must now present to the reader all we have been able to gather respecting another remarkable man, whose biography has never previously been written. William Darney was, like Nelson, a pioneer in the work of God, which arose in what afterward formed the Haworth Round. He was a shoemaker and a pedlar, respecting whose birthplace, early life and conversion we have no certain knowledge. He was a Scotchman, and might be one of the fruits of a revival which took place in Scotland from 1733 to 1740. Numbers of persons were then awakened to a sense of sin and obtained mercy of the Lord. The Rev. James Robe, minister at Kylsyth, preached at that time with great unction and success on the necessity of the new birth, a change the reality of which Darney undoubtedly experienced in his own soul. Before Wesley or Grimshaw knew anything of him, Darney became, under the leading of the Holy Spirit, the first herald of the gospel in Rossendale, in Lancashire, and in the extreme western border of the West Riding of Yorkshire. We know the exact time of his entrance upon the public ministration of the truth, for in the preface to hymn 162 in the collection published by him in 1752 he says: "In the year of our Lord 1742, after I had begun preaching (sometime when I was under great affliction both of body and mind), I began to question my call to the ministry, although I had a clear calling in October before." Darney is described as a man of prodigious size, speaking a broad Scottish dialect, and when dwelling on the terrors of the Lord, terrible to behold; but a man of deep piety and burning zeal, with a courage that fearlessly defied all opposition. He must have been a very diligent and successful preacher of the word, for in the collection of hymns before alluded to there is one of 104 verses describing the progress of the gospel in divers places in Great Britain, which indicates that he itinerated widely in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Darney also travelled in East Lancashire, selling his wares and preaching for some five years before he became acquainted with Wesley. There was a rich vein of evangelical truth in his preaching, often delivered with the quaintness of some of the old Puritans, which pleased and profited many. Perhaps, too, his popularity was not lessened

by his frequently, at the close of his sermon, giving out an extemporary hymn, adaped to the subject on which he had been discoursing. The poetry was mere doggerel, but it interested the people, and his preaching was made the power of God to the salvation of many. Grimshaw tells us, "In the year 1745, William Darney, a Scotchman, who had been stirred up to preach the gospel with much blessing, about Bradford, Manningham, and divers other places a few miles east of my parish, came and preached in it. The Lord was with him indeed. I have cause to bless God for it." Darney's first sermon in Haworth is said to have been preached in a house in the Ginnel, near the Church gates.

Grimshaw's impressions of this lay preacher were decidedly unfavourable. He had heard that he preached the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, which he then strangely supposed to be an error of Popery. It being reported that Darney was to preach near Haworth, the incumbent resolved to appear at the place appointed, and, by publicly confuting his arguments, prevent his parishioners from being thereby led astray. It was upon the very doctrine which Grimshaw questioned that Darney was preaching when his reverend opponent entered the house. Numerous arguments were brought forward by him to prove that "a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law"; and an appeal was made as to the truth of each proposition, to the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and the Articles of the Church of England. These were authorities to which Grimshaw was accustomed to bow with entire submissiveness; and the thought soon arose, that perhaps he himself was wrong, and the Methodists were right. To learn the truth more certainly, he conversed with Darney in private; but for a time timidly, and with many misgivings. Very near the old parsonage on the moor were quarries which I have often passed, and in them the conversations with Darney were carried on. When the bark of a distant dog, or some other noise was heard, Grimshaw would say, "Hush! there is somebody coming." No doubt the frequenters of the Black Bull, when they heard rumours, would talk of the matter sneeringly; but the few who had countenanced the wandering preacher would rejoice that the parson was becoming interested in the great themes which concerned them so deeply. The effect of these interviews was soon apparent. No further attempt at concealment was made. The confession of the change that had taken place in the views of Grimshaw was at once proclaimed. On an early occasion he gave out the hymns when Darney preached, and soon afterwards took a more decided part by praying in public at one of the services held by the northern

evangelist. The shout of the foe was soon heard, and it was said, "Mad Grimshaw is turned Scotch Will's clerk."

The parsonage was not near the Church as at present, but at Sowden's on the edge of the moor. The following is a curious memorandum respecting it. "May 15th, 1739, at six o'clock in the evening, the houses in Haworth called the parsonage were solemnly dedicated, and so named with *Prayers, Aspersions, Acclamations, and Crossings* by I.S."—that is Isaac Smith, the predecessor of Mr. Grimshaw. My first visit to this house was paid when very young. The Rev. James Everett was preaching at Haworth, and I accompanied my father and uncle, the late Mr. Jonas Sugden, of Oakworth, to hear him. Between the afternoon and evening services we all went to inspect the old parsonage. It is a large farm house commanding a prospect of quiet fields, and the valley of the Worth. In the rear are farm buildings of later date than the house itself. Portions of the structure indicate that it was built in the Stuart period. Probably to give more light, the windows of the front have been modernised. On the west a grove of stunted trees shield the house from the wild winds which very frequently sweep across the moorland immediately behind it. I remember how we stood in the kitchen, or house, as the principle room would be called, where the Wesleys, Whitefield, and many of the bravest of the first race of Methodist preachers sat at the hospitable board of the warm-hearted Vicar of Haworth. We also saw the bed-rooms, and the study in which he poured out fervent prayers to God, and wrote burning words for his people. Mr. Everett tried to buy the strong oaken door studded with nails guarding the porch. The attempt to transfer it to York did not succeed, and it still creaks upon the hinges on which it was hung some 250 years ago.

Rossendale, in Lancashire, owed to Darney the introduction of Methodist preaching and Class meetings. The place in which this rough Scotch evangelist first preached was Heap Barn, connected with a small farm of 25 acres in the occupation of Abe and Elizabeth Earnshaw. It stood on high ground about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bacup on the left hand side of the road to Todmorden. In the same year he also visited Gawksholme, a small hamlet at the foot of Langfield Moor, about a mile from Todmorden, where he also preached in a barn. It was rumoured in Rossendale that "a new kind of preacher"—the name of Methodist being then unknown—had come into the neighbourhood, and a young man, John Madin, whose name appears four years later in the Keighley Circuit book as a Steward, was one of his hearers. The sermon made a deep impression

on his soul, and when the meeting concluded, he returned to the barn to give expression to his sorrow for sin, and seek the favour of God. He returned home, however, without obtaining pardon, but after sore temptations, was at length made a partaker of the gospel salvation. Darney, to prevent the fruit of his labours being scattered to the winds, determined to form the new converts into a class. In May, 1744, ten persons were united in fellowship at Gawksholme, of whom J. Madin was one. Although residing five or six miles away, he attended the services every night during the fortnight of the preacher's mission in the neighbourhood, and having joined the class at Walsden, a mile from Gawksholme, and five miles from his own home, he was not once absent during twelve months. Like the primitive disciples, the new convert from Rossendale invited his neighbours; many of whom accompanied him down the wild mountain paths to the place of meeting. Some of these through listening to the rough evangelist were made partakers of the peace of God. John Madin was present at the first service held in Rossendale, in Heap Barn. After service, Darney embraced him, saying, "You are the first fruits of my labour in this place." The congregation must have been as rough as the bleak moor on which they were assembled, consisting of peasants and the drivers of pack horses attracted by the novelty of a religious service. Darney, as we have seen, was equal to dealing with uncouth material. On one occasion, when a fierce looking and gigantic woman, with uplifted dung-fork threatened to knock him down unless he desisted, he continued his discourse, and showed that perfect self-control, blended with true kindness, may overcome the most violent opponents.*

At the left hand of the road leading from Newchurch to Waterburn, and adjoining Booth Fold, stood a small hamlet called Miller Barn, consisting of four or five houses. Here Darney preached shortly after his first visit to Heap Barn, and having commenced a society, appointed John Madin the leader. These newly formed societies were seldom favoured by a visit from preachers more than once in three weeks. It was difficult with such scanty means of worship to keep the heavenly fire alive, and the little band of believers were glad to travel across the rugged mountains between Heap Barn and Haworth, that they might attend the ministry of Grimshaw. Nothing but ardent devotedness could have induced them, Sabbath after Sabbath, to undertake this rough journey of twenty miles over lone and desolate hills, and unite in worship at Haworth. Their route was by Flower Scarr, Heptonstall, Crimsworth

*Jesops Rossendale, p. 40-42.

Dean, and Lower Town, over hills some of which were 1500 ft. above sea level, across deep and rugged valleys; but their new-born zeal surmounted all difficulties. For several years Darney fixed his abode at Miller Barn. Here he carried on the business of a clogger, returning from his rounds of gospel toil,—in which he may also have sold smallwares as a pedlar—to work at his trade, to eke out the means of subsistence.

At an early period of the great revival of the eighteenth century, small societies were raised in different parts of Rossendale. There was a small class at Dean Head, also at Oakenhead Wood, and in the neighbourhood of Goodshaw. It must have been a difficult task to establish societies in a neighbourhood then greatly influenced by the teachings of two ultra-calvinistic preachers, Messrs. Lord and Pickup, whose zeal would probably be intensified if not embittered by their personal animosity. We are not surprised to find the plain, uncultured evangelist, who stood almost alone in the valley, as the promoter of this new gospel enterprise, alluding, sometimes in loud complaint in his halting rhymes, to the antagonism of his antimonian opponents. For some time these little bands of believers were of one heart. The preaching services were held in rotation from house to house, each family being concerned to obtain the benefit of receiving the ark of God to consecrate their dwelling place. J. Madin used to say, "It is impossible to describe the happy moments we had with one another: there was not a jarring string among us." But at length the class in the care of John Madin, numbering about twelve persons, was scattered, and the leader was left to stand alone. The evil done to new converts, by diverting their attention from the essence of the gospel, and showing more concern to make them sectarians than saints, cannot easily be over-rated. How many in the process of being made warm partisans of a sect, have lost "the simplicity that is in Christ."

About 1744, Darney, having been invited by Mr. Leach, of Wardale, near Rochdale, to preach at his house, finding the crowd too great to be accommodated therein, went into the barn. Mr. Leach's little son, a boy about eight years of age, having been set to rock the cradle, was so anxious to hear the new preacher, that he tied a long cord to the cradle, and was thus able at the same time to rock and listen to the sermon. He was strangely impressed with what he heard; and when the evangelist returned to the house, this child paid such close attention to what Darney said, that in his riper years he used to affirm that Darney's preaching and conversation that day gave him a religious bias for life. This boy afterward became

one of Wesley's preachers, and travelled in the Keighley Circuit in the year 1796.

Darney is said to have preached at Padiham as early as 1742, but there is some reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement. It is more likely that his first appearance there was two years later. Padiham was then a place of some thousand or twelve hundred inhabitants. He took his stand on the riding steps, which were then at the corner of the churchyard wall, opposite to the old Black Bull Inn. The first time he came, he was driven away by a mob led on by the clergyman of the parish, who just before had been drinking in a neighbouring inn. But Darney came again, and again, preaching repentance, faith, and the witness of the Spirit. On one occasion when a mob was attempting to pull him down from his stand, with the evident intention of doing him serious bodily injury, a tall, well-built man, who had been listening to what he said, and was greatly affected, stepped up to his side and declared he would knock down the first that touched him. His name was John Wood. This John Wood was one of the first Methodists at Padiham, and one of the firmest friends of Mr. Wm. Sagar, of Colne, of whom we shall hear much that is admirable later. He and Mr. Sagar were frequent co-workers in schemes of Christian service, and Mr. Sagar one day observed to him at Southfield, "You and I, John, have built many a chapel in this parlour." John Wood went to the Sessions at Preston to obtain a licence to preach, the magistrate who was a clergyman, having granted it, and seeing a number of disorderly persons outside the Sessions House, said sarcastically, "There, go and reform that crowd." John bowed, thanked his worship for the licence, availed himself of the opportunity, and preached what was perhaps the first Methodist sermon those men of Preston had ever heard.*

The first preaching house in Padiham was built in a manner which illustrates how the wisdom of the serpent was necessary in those days of violent persecution. The builder was a member of society named Whitehead. He began as if he intended to build some cottages, as possibly he did; but the other members arranged with him to throw two cottages into one, and so make the building into a preaching house. Accordingly he built the outside walls or shell of the house first; and when anyone noticing that there were no *interior* walls, asked him what he was doing, he said he wanted to get the outside walls up and the slates on while the fine weather lasted, as he could build the inside in the winter. When finished, the house was licensed as a place of worship before it was known in the neighbourhood for what purpose it was intended.†

* Moore's, Burnley, 20.

† Moore's, Burnley, 20.

CHAPTER VII.

WE must now leave Darney for a while and trace the growth of Wesley's influence over the societies formed so variously in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Having faithfully done the work of a pioneer in Yorkshire for five years, Nelson doubtless sought the aid of Wesley, by inducing him to include in his northern visitation that portion of the West Riding which was afterward to become the Haworth round. We have already heard how Methodism was brought to Halifax by way of Skircoat Green, and now on Monday, February 24th, 1746, we find Wesley there. He says, "I preached at Skircoat Green, near Halifax, to a whole company of Quakers. The good man of the house, about four score years old, had formerly been a speaker among them. But from fear of man, he desisted, and so quenched the Spirit, that he was in darkness for near forty years, till hearing John Nelson declare the love of God in Christ, light again sprung up in his soul." In all probability Nelson had directed Wesley's attention to Keighley, which he visited for the first time in the same tour. He was on his way to Newcastle, and his notice of this call is extremely brief. "Tuesday February 25th, about nine, I began at Keighley." I presume he refers to preaching a sermon. We learn later that he formally recognised the class of John Wilkinson as one of his societies. The whole visit must have been very short, and refreshment after it hasty, for Wesley reached Newcastle the following day, which meant hard riding. He says, "Thence (from Keighley) finding the snow was so deep I could not go through the vales, I went the straight way, and came to Newcastle, Wednesday the 26th. The most direct route to Newcastle would mean a ride of between ninety and a hundred miles, possibly spending the night at Ripon. The Journal of Wesley makes mention of many such rides. In the same year, 1746, the town had a visit from Charles Wesley, the great poet of Methodism. He says, "On Wednesday, Oct. 22nd, I preached in a yard at Keighley, on 'God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.' Here also is the promise of a plentiful harvest." The yard behind John Wilkinson's house, in Low Street, would probably be that in which John and Charles Wesley preached. The Wesleys and Grimshaw do

not appear to have met before the year 1746. Through Wilkinson and Colbeck, Charles Wesley would hear the story of Grimshaw's conversion and great usefulness. Such a minister of Christ in that benighted age he would naturally yearn to see, hence he takes the opportunity of going to Haworth, where he found both Mr. and Mrs. Grimshaw ill of a fever. He says, "His (Grimshaw's) soul was full of triumphant love. I wished mine in its place. We prayed believingly that the Lord would raise him up again for the service of his church. I read prayers and expounded Isaiah xxxv. All listened; many wept; some received comfort. I returned and exhorted the steady society at Keighley." It is evident that at this time neither Wilkinson nor Colbeck was in a position to offer the Wesleys hospitality, for Charles tells us that he and his companion, Edward Perronet, "lay at a public house, and slept in spite of the serenaders, who entertained my fellow-travellers till the morning." Thus the author of the world-famed hymn, "Crown Him Lord of all," visited Keighley when the sweet singer of our Israel first trod its crooked Low Street, and slept in all probability at the White Bear, as John Booth, the keeper of that inn, afterward became a trustee of the first chapel, and his name appears in the circuit book as the host of John Wesley.

In 1746 we find the first indication of a regular system of providing ministerial oversight for the scattered societies, by the formation of large rounds, hereafter to develop by subdivision into circuits. The appointments at this early stage were for the short period of two months. The word circuit is first used in the minutes of that year; and a list of seven given. The Yorkshire Circuit is No. 5 in that list, and includes Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, and Lincolnshire. In 1748 the word circuit is not used, but nine *Divisions* are named, of which Yorkshire is the eighth, including what may be taken as nine circuits, viz: 1, Leeds; 2, Birstal; 3, Keighley; 4, Acomb; 5, Syke House; 6, Epworth; 7, Hainton; 8, Grimsby; 9, The Fens. In 1753, we have a list of circuits given in notes taken at the Conference by Jacob Rowell, in which Haworth is united with Leeds, under the designation of Yorkshire and Haworth, and the names of the preachers appointed appear. The next list after that occurs in 1765, when the circuits have grown to 39 in Great Britain and Ireland, of which Haworth is the twenty-first, and that name continues until 1776 when Keighley supersedes it.

In this Conference of 1746 the question was asked—"Ought we not diligently to observe in what places God is pleased to

pour out His Spirit more abundantly? Answer, We ought, and at that time to send more labourers than usual into that part of the harvest, as at this time into Yorkshire and the country round about Coleford." We find the following preachers appointed at the Conference of 1747 to the Yorkshire Circuit.

July and August.
Thos. Westall.
John Bennett.

September and October.
John Nelson.
Thos. Meyrick.
James Jones.

November and December.
J. Bennett.

As Nelson and Reeves preached in Keighley, so would these men probably do. Let us endeavour to obtain a glimpse of them. Thomas Westall was one of the first lay preachers who assisted Wesley and was a faithful labourer in the vineyard for about forty years. Wesley speaks of him* as the third who offered to help him as a son in the gospel. As a brave soldier of Jesus Christ he had to endure fierce persecution. In the summer of 1744 he was stationed in Cornwall. While preaching at the house of a Mr. Harris, in Camborne, a tall man came in and pulled him down. Mr. Harris demanded his warrant; but he swore, warrant or no warrant, Westall should go with him. So he carried him out to the mob, who took him away to the Church Town. This was on Sunday, and they kept him there till Tuesday morning, and then carried him to Penzance; where in the afternoon, he was brought before three Justices, and asked abundance of questions, to which they required him to answer upon oath. Then Dr. Borlase wrote his *Mittimus*, by virtue of which he was to be committed to the house of correction at Bodmin as a vagrant. So they took him next day to Bodmin. The Justices who met at the next Quarter Sessions at Bodmin, knowing a little more of the laws of God and man, declared Westall's commitment to be contrary to all law, and set him at liberty without delay. He had another very narrow escape at Gwennap, in Cornwall. He mob rushed into the preaching house, put out the candles and then went up to the desk; but it being dark, they could not find the door. At last, when they had broken it down, they found a little boy in it instead of the preacher, whom they beat and sent away. Westall stood by them for some time in the dark, till at last he was taken out of the window by some friends. He went over a hedge but the mob soon overtook him, and brought him back crying out, "We have got the preacher." Two men hearing them, ran to them and desired they would let Westall go, and, as but two had hold of him they did so. While these went to call more of the mob to their assistance. Westall got

*Vol. 8-311.

over two hedges into a field of standing corn, where he lay concealed while the mob were busy breaking to pieces the seats etc., in the preaching house. As this took up some time, when they at length followed Mr. Westall, he was gone. Westall died at Bristol in the 76th year of his age, and on his tombstone is the inscription: "He was a pattern of Christian simplicity and humble love for near half a century."

To the Countess of Huntingdon all sections of early Methodism were greatly indebted for deliverance from the hands of unfaithful magistrates and brutal mobs. In her conversion and attachment to the cause we see the providence of God preparing one who could speak to Court or Cabinet on His people's behalf, as did Esther and Nehemiah. Not only were the followers of Wesley illtreated, but so also were several of the itinerants whom Lady Huntingdon sent out. Under these circumstances she addressed a remonstrance to Lord Cartaret, one of the principal Secretaries of State, to which she received, on November 19th, 1745, the following reply:—

"Madam,

I laid your remonstrance before His Majesty the King; my Royal Master commands me to assure your ladyship that, as the father and protector of his people, he will suffer no persecution on account of religion; and I am desired to inform all magistrates to afford protection and countenance to such persons as may require to be protected in the conscientious discharge of their religious observances. His Majesty is fully sensible of your ladyship's attachment to the House of Hanover, and has directed me to assure your ladyship of his most gracious favour and kindest wishes. I have the honour to be, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient humble servant, Cartaret."

The following incident, related by John Wesley to Henry Moore, shows how Divine Providence prepared the heart of George II. to feel kindly towards, and extend protection to his Methodist subjects:—"One of the original Society of Methodists at Oxford joined the Society of Friends and settled at Kew. Being a man of considerable property, and of exemplary behaviour, he was much respected, and was favoured with free permission to walk in the royal garden. Here he frequently met the King, who conversed freely with him, and with much apparent satisfaction. Upon one of these occasions, his Majesty, knowing that he had been at Oxford, inquired if he knew the Wesleys, adding, "They have made a great noise in the nation." The gentleman replied, "I know them well, King George; and thou mayest be assured that thou hast not

two better men in thy dominions, nor men that love thee better than John and Charles Wesley." He then proceeded to give some account of their principles and conduct, with which the King seemed much pleased. When Wesley had finished relating this, he said, "We see, sir, the Lord can bring a tale to the ear of the King"; and with deep emotion added, "O, I have always found the blessedness of a single eye, of leaving all to him."* Possibly in consequence of this circumstance that which Wesley describes in Sermon 107 came to pass, "God stirred up the heart of our late gracious Sovereign to give such orders to his magistrates as, being put in execution, effectually quelled the madness of the people. It was about the same time that a great man applied personally to His Majesty, begging that he would please to "take a course to stop these run-about preachers." His Majesty, looking sternly upon him, answered without ceremony like a King, "I tell you, while I sit on the throne no man shall be persecuted for conscience' sake."

George II. continued to the last the decided friend of civil and religious liberty. It is well known that some evil-minded persons commenced a prosecution against the amiable Doddridge for keeping an academy, which being represented to the King, he instantly put a stop to it, declaring he would suffer no persecution to take place during his reign.† The Prince of Wales also had religious convictions which made him tolerant to Dissenters. "It is certain," says Lady Huntingdon, "that he was in the habit of reading Dr. Doddridge's works, which had been presented to the Princess, and has been heard to express his approbation of them in the highest terms. He had frequent arguments with my Lord Bolingbroke, who thought his Royal Highness fast verging toward Methodism, the doctrines of which he was very curious to ascertain. His Lordship told me that the Prince went more than once privately to hear Mr. Whitefield, with whom he said he was much pleased."

Of John Bennett we have already spoken. At this time he was highly esteemed by Wesley, and had in the earlier months of the year been busily engaged in Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire, introducing Methodism, among other places, into Chester. In a very interesting letter dated March 7th, 1747, he gives us information respecting the formation of societies both in Manchester and Rochdale. "Some young men in Manchester (that spoke with Mr. Charles when he was with us last) have begun a society, and took a room, and have

*Wesley Anecdotes, 191.

†Lady Huntingdon, 1-67.

subscribed their names in a letter to Mr. Charles, desiring you will own them as brethren, and visit them in your return. They also desire any of us helpers in the gospel may call on them. I have sent their letter to London. Dear sir, do not forget us. I have been at Rochdale some few times since Mr. Charles was there, and begun a little society. The town is alarmed, and in prospect of much opposition, notwithstanding the word is gladly received, and multitudes flock to hear. The town is eight miles from Manchester, directly in your way from Yorkshire. On Monday the 2nd of this instant, as I was expounding in John Heywood's house at Holme, five miles from Manchester, a band of wicked, drunken men with clubs and staves, having a petty steward of a neighbouring gentleman at their head as captain, and gathered together by the blowing of a horn, came and assaulted the house, breaking the windows, and pulling the thatch off some parts of the house. I was obliged to leave off expounding, and we fell on our knees and prayed. The shouts and acclamations for some time abated, and I spoke to the people again. No sooner had I began, but the bells at Eccles and Flixon began to ring, and then they broke into the house. I was directed to go away to a friend's house, which I did, and so escaped their malice. I found such solid peace as I never had done before in trouble. It is not in the power of men or devils to interrupt a man's peace a moment, that looks with a single eye to God."*

Thomas Meyrick, appointed to labour in the Yorkshire Circuit in the months of September and October 1747, was a native of Cornwall. He was educated for the law, but after he was made a partaker of the grace of God, he gave himself up to the work of the ministry. For several years he was remarkably zealous in propagating divine truth, and endured great persecution in various parts of the kingdom, especially in his own county. In 1742, Meyrick was the subject of one of those remarkable answers to prayer which Wesley frequently records. He was so seriously ill in Newcastle that the physician did not expect him to live till the morning. Wesley was at that time in Newcastle. He says, Saturday December 25th, "The physician told me he could do no more; Mr. Meyrick could not live over the night. I went up, and found them all crying about him; his legs being cold, and (as it seemed) dead already. We all kneeled down and called upon God with strong cries and tears. He opened his eyes and called for me; and from that hour, he continued to recover his strength, till he was restored to perfect health. I wait to hear who will

* This letter taken from the *Arminian Magazine* of 1778, p. 471, is dated March 7th, 1747.

either disprove the fact, or philosophically account for it." About two years after Mr. Meyrick left the round, he retired from the Methodist ministry, procured episcopal ordination, and became a curate in the parish of Halifax. He resided for several years in Halifax parish, and, in addition to his parochial duties, taught a school, but he lost the life and power of religion, and became addicted to intemperance, thus affording to us a solemn warning that early zeal and usefulness will not keep a man, unless accompanied by strict watchfulness, which Wesley so strenuously enjoined, and the power of the Divine Spirit.

James Jones who was also the colleague of Nelson and Meyrick in the circuit in September and October, was one of the first fruits of Wesley's labours in Staffordshire. He was a person of considerable property, but became a travelling preacher for some time, and endured great persecutions for the truth's sake, in the defence of which he was as bold as a lion.

Of Francis Walker, the remaining preacher on the round, we know little. He was a native of Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire; a pious, upright man, with but small ministerial abilities; yet remarkably lively, zealous, and useful. In his *Journal* of July 15th, 1745, Wesley says, "Mr. Bennet met us at Trewint, and told us Francis Walker had been driven thence. and had since been an instrument of great good, wherever he had been. Indeed, I never remember so great an awakening in Cornwall, wrought in so short a time, among young and old, rich and poor, from Trewint quite to the sea side. Walker appears to have left the Itinerancy in 1753, and settled in Gloucester, where he departed this life in peace.

Wesley gave advice to his early preachers which might well be followed by both orders of the Methodist ministry to-day. "1. Be sure to begin and end precisely at the time appointed. 2. Sing no hymns of your own composing. 3. Endeavour to be serious, weighty, and solemn in your whole deportment before the congregation. 4. Choose the plainest text you can. 5. Take care not to ramble from your text, but keep close to it, and make out what you undertake. 6. Always suit the subject to the audience. 7. Beware of allegorizing or spiritualizing too much. 8. Take care of anything awkward or affected, either in your gesture or pronunciation. 9. Tell each other if you observe anything of this kind. Spend the mornings (from six to twelve) in reading, writing, and prayer; from twelve to five, visit the sick and well; and from five to six use private prayer." This rule supposes that they would conduct a morning preaching service from five to six, and probably an evening service, or meet classes etc., after six p.m. "You have nothing to do but save souls.

Therefore, spend and be spent in this work. And go always not only to those who want you, but to those who want you most." On the 22nd of January, 1747, three months after his first visit to Haworth, Charles Wesley was again in that village. Meanwhile, protests must have been made to Grimshaw from some influential quarter, for he was not allowed to preach in the church, though hospitably entertained at the parsonage. The large house where he preached, probably the old Hall, was not large enough to hold the congregation wishful to listen to him, hence Wesley tells us that he faithfully "remonstrated with his host, telling him that he had feared where no fear was needed, there being no law either of God or man against his use of the pulpit." Grimshaw was heartily ashamed of the over cautious course he had taken, and soon showed in the most open and practical manner that he had espoused the cause of the Methodists at all cost.

To meet the necessities of the growing Keighley society Charles Wesley must have appointed leaders, there being as yet no travelling preacher on the round, and it is consequently almost certain that Thos. Colbeck and others of the first leaders would be his nominees. On April 30th, 1747, John Wesley, after preaching at Hightown and Birstall on Wednesday the 29th, says, "I rode to Keighley. The ten persons I joined (to the society) here are increased to above a hundred. And above a third of them can rejoice in God, and walk as becomes the gospel." This was a very rapid increase in a town containing at that time not more than 2000 inhabitants. Wesley does not seem hitherto to have met the Vicar of Haworth. We have seen that Charles Wesley, in the autumn of 1746, and again in January, 1747, had not only preached in Haworth Church but had so explained the proceedings of the Methodists as to remove all Grimshaw's scruples against them. On May 1st, 1747, we have the first record of a visit to Haworth by John Wesley. There is every reason to suppose that after preaching to, and examining, the society in Keighley, he had gone to Haworth, for a letter of Grimshaw's, written on the 30th, exhibits such unity and warmth of feeling between these devoted men as to imply previous intercourse between them on spiritual matters, and the conduct of the work of God. The afternoon and evening of April 30th would furnish such an occasion. Wesley says, "Friday, May 1st, I read prayers and preached in Haworth Church to a numerous congregation. In the evening I preached near Skircoat Green and baptized Eliz. K. (Kershaw), late a Quaker. Saturday, 2nd., I preached at Halifax to a civil, senseless congregation, at noon at Gildersome, and in the evening at Armley."

In tracing the development of Methodism in the Haworth Round it is again necessary to refer to Darney. Until 1747 the societies he formed were called Wm. Darney's societies, and the ground he covered, his round or circuit. They were under the care of himself and other lay preachers. On Monday, May 4th, we have the first notice of any connection between these societies and Wesley. He had returned to the Haworth Round from Leeds and Birstall, he says, "At his earnest request, I began examining those that are called W.D.'s (Wm. Darney's) societies." Darney had probably asked Wesley to take the pastoral oversight of these societies, and receive himself into the ranks of the itinerant preachers, for we shall see that he expected to be sent into Scotland, and at the Conference of 1748 was accepted as one of Wesley's helpers. John Nelson, Thomas Lee and Thomas Mitchell did the same with the infant churches they formed, and Grimshaw, in 1748, as will be shown, recognised Wesley as the minister holding oversight of the whole area then evangelised. Wesley goes on to say, "At three I preached at Great Harding; in the evening at Roughlee (near Nelson), where there was a large society. But since the men of smooth tongue broke in upon them, they are every man afraid of his brother, half of them ringing continually into the ears of the rest, 'No work, no law, no bondage.' However, we gathered about forty of the scattered sheep, who are still minded to stand in the old paths." "Tuesday, 5th, I preached at Roughlee at five, about eleven at Hinden, and about three at Widdop, a little village in the midst of huge, barren mountains, where also there was a society. Mr. B. had effectually dispersed them, so that I found but three members left." We have seen that Darney had to contend with Calvinists in East Lancashire, and here we find the antinomianism, which some of Ingham's preachers embraced, troubling the infant societies at Roughlee and Widdop. The Mr. B. may have been one of the Batty's of Newby Cote, and if Darney felt unequal to the task of grappling with dissension within the church, he might gladly surrender his flock to the abler shepherding of men like Wesley and Grimshaw. Wesley says further, "We rode thence about five miles to Stonsey Gate, which lies in a far more fruitful country. Here was a larger congregation at six o'clock than I had seen since my leaving Birstall. They filled both the yard and the road to a considerable distance, and many were seated on a long wall adjoining, which, being built of loose stones, in the middle of the sermon, all fell down at once. I never saw, heard, or read of such a thing before. The whole wall, and the persons sitting upon it, sunk down together, none of them screaming out, and very few altering their

posture. And not one was hurt at all, but they appeared sitting at the bottom just as they sat at the top. Nor was there any interruption either of my speaking, or of the attention of the hearers. Wednesday, 6th, I rode to Shore, four miles south from Stonesey, lying about half way down a huge steep mountain. Here I preached at twelve to a loving, simple-hearted people. We then climbed up to Todmorden Edge, the brow of a long chain of mountains, where I called a serious people to repent and believe the gospel. Thursday, 7th. We left the mountains and came down to the fruitful valley of Rosendale. Here I preached to a large congregation of wild men; but it pleased God to hold them in chains. So that even when I had done, none offered any rudeness, but all went quietly away." The places named by Wesley were all first evangelised and the societies gathered by Darney and other lay preachers. They broke up the fallow ground and sowed the seed, and the Wesleys and Grimshaw watered it, taking the oversight of the infant churches, as the following letters of the Vicar of Haworth clearly prove. Nothing is clearer in the history of this great movement than the sovereign choice of instruments by the great Head of the Church, these men did not receive their call from any ecclesiastical organisation but directly from God Himself.

In the first letter from Grimshaw to John Wesley, dated May 30th, 1747, we find the Vicar of Haworth entering into closer relations with the societies of Darney, and thus widening the sphere of his labours. He says, "The societies you formed in Wm. Darney's circuit, I hear are in good state. I went amongst them about Todmorden, the week after you were there, and, to my great comfort, found it so. I likewise observed a general disposition in all sorts to hear the gospel. I exhorted twice that day; for I will not have it called preaching. I afterwards gave a short exhortation to a few, who happened to come too late to hear either of the former. The next morning, about half a mile from thence, in the parish of Heptonstall, in which you also were; and, in my way home, at a friend's house (to whom I had signified my intention two or three days before), I was met, praised be God, by a great multitude. The house was so full that one third part, if not more, I think, stood out of doors. I stood just within the door threshold for the convenience of all. I exhorted near an hour and a half. The Lord gave me great freedom and power. They were as attentive, serious, and civil, as those of the day before. At my coming home I met with a letter from a clergyman, about fourteen or fifteen miles from hence, and not above two or three from that place where you preached in Rossendale before you

set off to Manchester. He desired me to come and preach at his chapel on the morrow. I embraced the request, finding freedom in my heart, perceiving that a door is hereby opened, and that the Lord seems to make my way plain before me. I purpose to set out to-day at noon, and to walk it, having an agreeable friend to bear me company. I know the Lord is with me. You will not fail to present my tender respects to your brother: the same I desire to all the sincere servants and seekers of the blessed Jesus, your Redeemer and mine. O may we be kept faithful to Him to the end: may we ever go forth in His strength, incessantly making mention, yea, loudly proclaiming His righteousness only, indefatigably labouring to glorify Him in our hearts, lips, and lives, which are His, and continually endeavouring to bring innumerable sons and daughters to glory by Him. This week two members of our society, a married man and woman, are gone to rest with the precious Lord. Blessed be His Name! To Him I heartily commend you and yours. Lord Jesus, sweet Jesus, be with you."

In the next letter we have from Grimshaw very graphic descriptions of his ministerial life, and the fervent spirit of the man breathes through every line. Writing from Ewood, August 20th, 1747, to J. Wesley, Grimshaw says: "Wherever these lines find you, may they find you full of the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind, fighting in the strength of our Lord the good fight of faith, pulling down the strongholds of Satan, and industriously labouring to deliver multitudes of poor sin-stained souls out of the kingdom of darkness into the glorious light and liberty of the sons of God! Such success let us daily and heartily beseech our dear Redeemer to bless all His faithful ministers with, wherever He sends them. You will desire to know how I do. O, dear sir, hearty and happy in the Lord; and how my ministry, or rather, the present state of my parish. Blessed be God, flourishing still more and more. Our societies are in general very lively in the Lord; and several others, though not as yet joined in society, are nevertheless come to a sense of the pardoning love of God, others are under deep concern, or eagerly hungering and thirsting after our Redeemer. Two under my own roof are just now under true conviction, one a girl about eighteen years old, and the other a boy about fourteen; and I hope my own little girl, between ten and eleven years old. It is near six months since she first began to show a serious concern for her sinful state. The method which I, the least and most unworthy of my Lord's ministers, take in my parish, is this: I preach the gospel, glad tidings of salvation

to penitent sinners, through faith in Christ's blood only, twice every Lord's day the year round (save when I expound the Church Catechism, and thirty-nine Articles, or read the Homilies, which, in substance, I think my duty to do in some part of the year annually on the Lord's Day mornings). I have found this practice, I bless God, of inexpressible benefit to my congregation, which consists, especially in the summer season, of perhaps ten or twelve hundred; or, as some think, many more souls. We have also prayers, and a chapter expounded, every Lord's Day evening. I visit my parish in twelve several places monthly, convening six, eight, or ten families in each place, allowing any people of the neighbouring parishes that please to attend that exhortation. This I call my monthly visitation. I am now entering into the fifth year of it, and wonderfully, dear sir, has the Lord blessed it. The only thing more are our funeral expositions, or exhortations, and visiting our societies in one or other of the three last days of every month. This, I purpose, through the grace of God, to make my constant business in my parish so long as I live. O, dear sir, I know not what to say, I know not what to do. Sometimes I have made more excursions into neighbouring parishes to exhort, but always with a Nicodemical fear, and to the great offence of the clergy, which, until lately, almost made me resolve to sally out no more, but content myself in my own bounds: till lately, I say; for on Wednesday was six weeks, from about five o'clock in the afternoon to about twelve at night, and again for some hours together, I may say, the day following, my mind was deeply affected with strong impressions to preach the gospel abroad; the event I left to the Lord, fearing to be disobedient to what, I trust, was the heavenly call. The first thing suggested to me was to visit Wm. Darney's societies; I accordingly met one of them about a month ago. Last week I struck out into Lancashire and Cheshire, Mr. Bennet bearing me company. We visited the societies in Rochdale, Manchester and Hulme, in Lancashire, and Booth Bank in Cheshire. From thence we came back by Booth Bank to Manchester, visited the society a second time, and there we parted. I called and spent a part of two days with William Darney's societies, particularly those in Todmorden, Shore, Miller-barn, Rossendale, Bacup, Croston, Stoneshawfate and Crimsworth Dean; everywhere the Lord was manifestly with us: great blessings were scattered, and much zeal and love, with great humility and simplicity, appeared in most people everywhere."

They must have let no grass grow under their feet, for Grimshaw says: "The whole visit found me employment for near five days. O, it was a blessed journey to my soul! I now,

in some measure, begin to see the import of our Lord's design, by that deep impression upon my mind above mentioned. I am determined, therefore, to add, by the Divine assistance, to the care of my own parish, that of so frequent a visitation of Mr. Bennet's, Wm. Darney's, and the Leeds and Birstall societies, as my convenience will permit, and their circumstances may respectively seem to require, all along eyeing the Lord's will and purposes for me. If I find the Lord's pleasure be that I must still launch out further, I will obey; for He daily convinces me more and more what He has graciously done, and will do, for my soul. O! I can never do enough in gratitude and in love to Him, for the least mite, if I may reverently so speak, of what His blessings are to me. O, dear sir, that I may prove faithful and indefatigable in His vineyard! That I may persevere to the last gasp, steadfast, immoveable, and always abounding in His work, do you pray.—The same shall be mine for you, your dear brother, and all our fellow-labourers. My pulpit, I hope, shall be always at your's, and your brother's service; and my house, as long as I have one, your welcome home. The same I'll make it to all our fellow-labourers, through the grace of God."

In another letter of Grimshaw to J. Wesley, written from Ewood, November 27th, 1747, we get further and most interesting information respecting the spread of Methodism, and the connection of the Vicar of Haworth and Thomas Colbeck with it. "Rev. and very dear Brother, your's bearing date the 20th of this month, I yesterday received. I answer again, and by the length of my letter it will appear, I answer not in haste, though I must assure you I have as little leisure for writing as anything I do. The want of preachers here at present is very great. That the harvest, in these parts, is really large, and the labourers but very few, is very manifest; why it is so perhaps the Lord of it only knows. Indeed, you, in some sort, assign a reason for it. But, dear sir, are there such plenty of helpers in Cornwall? Send us one or two of them, without further entreaty. You desire a particular account of the progress of the Lord's work here. Indeed, I have the pleasure of assuring you, that I think it never went better, from its first appearance amongst us, than it has done within these two months. I may say, at Leeds, Birstall, Keighley, Todmorden, Rossendale, Heptonstall, Pendleforest, and in my own parish, the societies are very hearty; souls are daily added to the church; and, I may say, multitudes, on all sides (many of whom have been enemies to us and our Master's cause), are convinced of the truth, run eagerly to hear the gospel, and (as I told you in my last) are continually crying out for more preachers. New and numerous

classes have been lately joined. Were not matters thus with us, you may easily suppose I should not be so urgent with you for assistance. I think my public exhortations (alias what I call my monthly visitations) in my parish, were never so visibly blessed, I praise God, for these four years past, as they have been within these two last months. Such a mighty presence of God has been in those visitations, and also in many of our weekly class meetings, as I have rarely seen before. This evening I am venturing, by the Divine assistance, upon a public exhortation, in a wild, unchristian place, called Midgley, four miles west from Halifax, where, of late, I have a great part of my residence; and I hope my attempt will have the Lord on my side. I hope brother Bennet fails not to inform you how well the work of God flourishes in Derbyshire, Cheshire, and in the South of Lancashire, particularly about Bolton, Chowbent, &c. Mr. Lunell, whose wife has lately experienced the pardoning love of God, wrote me a delightful account of the state of the church at Leeds. This much of my incoherent relation of our Lord's works in these parts. Brother Bennet, Nelson, and I, not only I hope love as brothers, but are cordially united in carrying on the Lord's work. I hope we believe, and profess, and preach, one thing—*Jesus* and *Him* crucified. If you know them, you know me. About three weeks since brothers Nelson and Colbeck were all night with me. Before then I accidentally met with brother Bennet at Bank, near Heptonstall, when I went to meet all the Heptonstall parish classes. Last week I met brother Colbeck, and all the Keighley parish classes; and about six weeks ago I visited those of Leeds and Birstall; about a month since those of Todmorden, and some of Rossendale."

At this time not only does Darney appear to have sought Wesley's supervision for his societies, but also to have placed himself under the direction of the founder of Methodism, for in the letter of Grimshaw, May 30th, 1747, from which I have already quoted, he says, "William Darney desires a particular letter from you respecting his going into Scotland. He will go soon after Whitsuntide. I shall see him, I hope, to-morrow." Darney probably went to Scotland, for in Steele's Methodism in Barnard Castle, it is stated that Darney preached the gospel there about the year 1747. This was probably on his way to or from Scotland. If Darney went to Scotland he could not have remained long there, for we find in the Minutes of Conference, held in London, 1748, the question, "What assistants do we agree to receive into the work." The answer shows that T. Colbeck, W. Darney, and C. E. Webster, of Yorkshire, were three of the six whose names are given.

Darney's first appointment after being received as a

travelling preacher was to the Haworth Round, and the old circuit book contains the following entries respecting payments to him:—

Oct. 14, 1748,	Gave Wm. Darney ...	...	0	1	7
July 11, ,,	Wm. Darney's Wife...	...	1	10	0
Jan. 10, 1749,	To Wm. Darney's Wife ...	...	1	10	0
Jan. 10, ,,	A pair of Boots for W.D. ...	...	0	14	0
Apl. 8, ,,	To W. Darney's Wife ...	...	2	2	0

It would be while in this round that Darney had to face a furious mob. He was preaching at Yeadon, where a little society had just been formed, when Reynolds, the curate of Guiseley, came at the head of a large mob, who threw eggs in his face, pulled him down, dragged him out of the house on the ground, and stamped upon him. The curate himself then thought it was enough, and bade them let him alone and go their way. He was also thrown into a pond at Accrington, had his wig filled with filth, and suffered various indignities from an infuriated mob who hated his gospel message. At length he attained the usual distinction conferred on zealous evangelists by unprincipled magistrates and bigoted clergy, and was cast into prison. He was a man of brave spirit, but could also act with policy when occasion served. Once, after preaching at Roughlee, he had to pass through Colne to Wycollar. He saw the Colne mob, led on by a man named Bradshaw, coming to meet him. Remembering that a bone will sometimes allay the fury of a savage dog, he offered Bradshaw all he had—a shilling, and the paltry bribe induced the doughty chieftain and his followers to conduct the preacher safely through the town.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN the year 1748 we have some of the most dramatic experiences of Wesley in the Round whose history is being written. On Sunday, August 21st, Wesley says: "I preached, as usual, at Leeds and Birstall. Monday, 22nd—After preaching at Heaton, I rode to Skircoat Green. Our brethren here were much divided in their judgment. Many thought I ought to preach at Halifax Cross; others judged it to be impracticable, the very mention of it as a possible thing having set all the town in an uproar. However to the Cross I went. There was an immense number of people, roaring like the waves of the sea. But the far greater part of them were still as soon as I began to speak. They seemed more and more attentive and composed, till a gentleman got some of the rabble together, and began to throw money among them, which occasioned much hurry and confusion. Finding my voice could not be heard, I made signs to the people that I would remove to another place. I believe nine in ten followed me to a meadow, about half a mile from the town, where we spent so solemn an hour as I have seldom known, rejoicing and praising God."

Wesley was too modest to relate in full all he endured. We are told that he boldly stood by the Market Cross, covered with mire thrown by the rabble. Someone threw a stone which struck him on the cheek, causing blood to trickle down his face. Then it was that he made signs to the people that he would move. His blood-stained face awed the crowd, and he passed through the mob untouched. On the 24th August, 1748, Wesley preached at Keighley in the afternoon, and then rode on to Haworth, when Grimshaw at five o'clock read prayers, and Wesley preached to more than the Church could contain. He slept at the old parsonage, and had the Church nearly filled again the following morning at five. These two noble men and the young disciple, T. Colbeck, were that day to endure the test of fiery trial. It was probably Grimshaw's first experience of contact with riotous mobs. Colbeck had already shared the sufferings of the little flock in Keighley. Wesley was becoming inured to such experiences.

The Rev. George White who had been educated at Douay, in France, for the Romish priesthood, upon his recantation was

recommended for preferment to the Vicar of Whalley, by Archbishop Potter, and became curate of Colne and Marsden, on the border of Lancashire. He was a choice specimen of the worst class of clergy in his day. He frequently abandoned his parish for weeks together, and on one occasion is said to have read the burial service more than twenty times in a single night, over the dead bodies that had been interred in his absence. After one of these seasons of gross neglect he brought home an Italian lady whom he married at Marsden. But soon afterwards he was torn away from his bride by being imprisoned for debt.

This worthy felt called upon to preach a sermon against the Methodists at Colne, on July 24th, 1748, and at Marsden on August 7th. This sermon was published with an epistle dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Nov. 7th, 1748, and a rare copy of it is now in the Allan Library. His text was 1 Cor. xiv., 33, "For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints." Mr. White charged the Methodist preachers with being "authors of confusion, open destroyers of the public peace," and endeavoured to excite prejudice against them on trade grounds also. Although magistrate as well as parson, he set the law at defiance and issued the following proclamation: "Notice is hereby given, if any man be mindful to enlist into His Majesty's Service, under the command of the Rev. Mr. George White, Comander in Chief, John Bannister, Lieut. General of His Majesty's forces, for the defence of the Church of England, and the support of the manufactory in and about Colne, both which are now in danger, etc., etc.; let them now repair to the Drum-head at the Cross, when each man shall have a pint of ale for advance, and other proper encouragements."

Wesley, accompanied by Grimshaw and T. Colbeck, of Keighley, confronted the Colne mob at Roughlee and Barrowford. He says, "I was a little afraid for Mr. Grimshaw, but it needed not; for he was ready to go to prison or death for Christ's sake." Writing, it is supposed to White, Wesley says of Grimshaw and Colbeck, "The mob closed them in, tossed them too and fro with the utmost violence, threw Mr. Grimshaw down, and loaded them both with dirt and mire of every kind, not one of your friends offering to call off your bloodhounds from the pursuit. The other quiet, harmless people, who followed me at a distance, to see what the end would be, they treated still worse; not only by the connivance, but by the express order of your deputy. They made them run for their lives, amidst showers of dirt and

stones, without any regard to age or sex. Some of them they trampled in the mire, and dragged by the hair, particularly Mr. Mackford, who came with me from Newcastle. Many they beat with their clubs without mercy. One they forced to leap down (or they would have thrown him headlong) from a rock ten or twelve feet high, into the river. And when he crawled out wet and bruised, they swore they would throw him in again, which they were hardly persuaded not to do. All this time you sat well pleased close to the place, not attempting in the least to hinder them. And all this time you were talking of justice and law! Alas, sir, suppose we were dissenters (which I deny), suppose we were Jews or Turks, are we not to have the benefit of the laws of our country? Proceed against us by the law, if you can or dare; but not by lawless violence, not by making a drunken, cursing, swearing, riotous mob, both judge, jury, and executioner. This is flat rebellion against God and the King; as you may possibly find to your cost."

Between four and five we set out from Roughlee. Before seven we reached Widdop. The news of what had passed at Barrowford made us all friends. The person in whose house Mr. B. preached, sent and begged I would preach there, which I did at eight, to such a congregation as none could have expected on so short a warning. He invited us also to lodge at his house, and all jealousies vanished away." In his journal Wesley gives a full account of the brutal treatment to which they were subjected and his remonstrance to the instigator and witness of it.

Edward Sunderland, one of the first leaders in Keighley, and also the barber of the early preachers, handed down to his family an incident connected with this riot, which no doubt came from one of the persons assaulted. It reveals Grimshaw as a fearless, lion-hearted, but loving friend to the refined and gentle Colbeck. The latter was assailed by a set of rough fellows who kicked and abused him shamefully, until Grimshaw, thrusting them aside, said, "Get out of the way, Tommy, with thy spindle-shanks, and let them kick me!"

The fearless John Nelson also at that time visited Colne, and preached in a part of the town called Nineveh. He is described by one of his hearers, John Dean, "as a powerful man with broad shoulders, and as having contracted a habit of winking when he was about to advance anything pithy." I presume Grimshaw thought that these people greatly needed evangelising, for he soon entered the parish of Colne again, in company with Ingham and one of his preachers named Batty. The Inghamites had formed a small society, which

White was evidently as determined to suppress as he was that formed at Roughlee by Wesley's preachers. On the occasion in question, after the service had begun, White rushed furiously into the house, staff in hand, attended by his constable and the mob they commanded. He would have struck Batty had not the blow been warded off by Ingham. The preachers retired into an adjoining room; but White threatened the master of the house with the stocks, and drove the congregation away. He also insisted that Ingham and Grimshaw should sign a paper, promising, under the penalty of £50, not to preach in the parish for a year. As they refused compliance with this unauthorised request, they were taken by the rioters towards Colne. The mob now seeing that their first demand would be sternly refused, offered six months, then two, and at last would have been satisfied by a bare promise without penalty. But the servants of the Lord were as firm as Wesley in the first riot, though dragged violently along the road, with clubs brandished above their heads, and their persons pelted with mud. Ingham's coat was torn and trailed on the ground. They were thus conducted to the Swan Inn, and kept there until it was White's pleasure they should be dismissed.

Wesley had severely but briefly reproved the curate of Colne. Grimshaw also felt it his duty publicly and at greater length to chastise that inconsistent persecutor in a sermon which he published in 1749. White unconsciously did great service to the historian, for in calling forth this reply he was the means of procuring for us the only pamphlet, or sermon, which Grimshaw is known to have written. It shows that he was a man of culture, and a clear reasoner and powerful exponent of Scripture. But it is most valuable in exhibiting the thorough Methodist, and enabling us to judge of his manner of preaching; for he does not merely reply to White, but he takes the opportunity ere closing of addressing both saints and sinners, as he was doubtless wont to do from his pulpit at Haworth, or the more homely pulpit of a chair in village street or farm house, throughout his wide circuit. Hear how he castigates White. " ' Believe me,' say you," in the next words, (but who can believe you after so many palpable untruths?) but, ' believe me, the pretence of religion has perhaps occasioned the greatest calamities, and served as a cloak, even to the most inhuman murders and plunderings, the most insatiable avarice and lust.' But which way, and by whom? This I have already shewn. I shall only add, that in this, not only I, but any one, may believe you. You pretend to religion, and so do all the banditti you lately headed, and at the same

time have thoroughly convinced the world what mischief and confusion pretences to religion can make.

The very tinkers and colliers of your parish have of late acted the parson as well as you have done, and with as much regard to truth and the honour of God. . . . I believe if we will but speak the truth, as we hope to answer for it at the day of judgment, we must own that they (the Methodists) have, through the Divine assistance, Who sends by whom He will send, wrought a greater reformation in our parishes than we have done. Ah! sir, you little know, but I pray God make you sensible, and thankful for it too, before you die, how these dear servants of the Lord laboured night and day for you, without a penny from your purse, whilst you boarded at Chester Castle, and for three years together since, whilst you have been raking about in London, and up and down the country. And now at your return to your flock, do you find that any amongst them that follow these good men, who deserve so well at our hands, behave disorderly at church? Do they live dishonestly or unpeaceably among their neighbours? Or, do they wrong or defraud you, or any man of their dues? Surely men of their principles will do no such things, nor occasion any such confusion, as your merciless spirit would brand them with! On the contrary, your own late riotous conduct, heading a lawless rabble of irreligious dissolute wretches under the name and title of Commander in Chief, spiriting them up to the perpetration of many grievous outrages, and inhumanly treating and abusing numbers of poor inoffensive people, I must say, is a shameful violation of order in both Church and State."

On a quiet day, in the spring of 1894, I visited the scene of these outrages. It is but a short walk from Nelson to Barrowford, whence, by a country lane with high banks and hedgerows, you ascend to the summit of a ridge. Roughlee lies on the banks of a stream in a secluded valley under the shadow of Pendle Hill. With the exception of a mill—almost idle—all the surroundings are beautiful. About a dozen farm houses—some of them very old, and scattered widely apart—are all the buildings that can be seen. Near the mill a few groups of cottages cluster; all the rest is as Wesley, Grimshaw, and Colbeck saw it. A woman at whose cottage I called, knew the story of the past, and told me where Wesley stood and preached. Proceeding thither, I overtook an old man who offered to take me to a row of ancient cottages, in two upper rooms of which the founder of Methodism and the early preachers long conducted worship. I found from con-

versation with my guide, that the throwing of Methodists into the stream took place not at Roughlee, but at Barrowford. He named the exact place, having heard an aged local preacher,—Wm. England, of Colne—tell how as a boy he had seen the people thrust into the beck, and in the ignorance of childhood joined in the stoning. I took photographs at Roughlee, and then returned to Barrowford, and secured several pictures of the scene of suffering, and of ancient houses whose inmates probably joined in the fray. One of them, now the White Bear Inn, bears the date of 1615, and was formerly the home of a family named Hargreaves, who owned considerable landed property in the neighbourhood. My Roughlee informant said that the people were thrown into the river nearly opposite the Dragon Inn. There is certainly a place of the depth named by Mr. Wesley, 12ft., and as the river would then be unvalled save by natural rocks, I undoubtedly saw the identical spot: with a house sufficiently old, and quite near to it, where the magistrate might possibly have been, when the ministers of Christ was dragged into his presence.

Undaunted by mob-violence, John Wesley calmly proceeded with the visitation of Grimshaw's great Round. He says, "Friday, August 26th, I preached at five, to much the same congregation. At twelve we came to Heptonstall Bank. The house stands on the side of a steep mountain, and commands all the vale below. The place in which I preached was an oval spot of ground, surrounded by spreading trees, scooped out, as it were, in the side of the hill, which rose round like a theatre. The congregation was equal to that of Leeds; but such serious and earnest attention! It lifted up my hands, so that I preached as I scarce ever did in my life. About four I preached again to nearly the same congregation, and God again caused the power of His love to be known. Thence we rode to Midgley. Many flocked from all parts, to whom I preached till near an hour after sun-set. The calmness of the evening agreed well with the seriousness of the people; everyone of whom seemed to drink in the word of God, as a thirsty land the refreshing showers. Saturday 27th, I preached once more at seven to the earnest people at the Bank, and then rode to Todmorden Edge. Here several prisoners were set at liberty, as was Mr. Mackford the day before. At five I preached at Millar Barn, in Rossendale. There were a few rude people, but they kept at a distance; and it was well they did, or the unawakened hearers would have been apt to handle them roughly. I observed here what I had not then seen but at one place in England; when I had finished my discourse, and even pronounced the blessing, not one person offered to

go away; but every man, woman, and child, stayed just where they were, till I myself went away first. Sunday, 28th, I was invited by Mr. U., the minister of Goodshaw, to preach in his church. I began reading prayers at seven; but perceiving the church would scarce contain half of the congregation, after prayers I went out, and standing on the church yard wall, in a place shaded from the sun, explained and enforced those words in the second lesson, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.'

I wonder at those who still talk so loud of the indecency of field-preaching. The highest indecency is in St. Paul's Church, when a considerable part of the congregation are asleep, or talking, or looking about, not minding a word the preacher says. On the other hand, there is the highest decency in a church-yard or field, when the whole congregation behave and look as if they saw the judge of all, and heard Him speaking from heaven. At one I went to the Cross in Bolton. There was a vast number of people, but many of them utterly wild. As soon as I began speaking, they began thrusting to and fro, endeavouring to throw me down from the steps on which I stood. They did so once or twice; but I went up again and continued my discourse. They then began to throw stones; at the same time some got upon the Cross behind me to push me down; on which I could not but observe, how God over-rules even the minutest circumstances. One man was bawling just at my ear, when a stone struck him on the cheek, and he was still. A second was forcing his way down to me, till another stone hit him on the forehead; it bounded back, the blood ran down, and he came no further. The third, being got close to me, stretched out his hand, and in the instant a sharp stone came upon the joints of his fingers. He shook his hand and was very quiet till I concluded my discourse and went away."

The year 1748 brings us to authentic records of unimpeachable authority respecting the Haworth Round. These records are in a vellum bound folio discoloured by the passage of one hundred and sixty years. It is probably the oldest circuit book in existence, as the first entry is dated October 18th, 1748. This venerable and most precious book gives us the framework on which the history of organised Methodism must be built in all the circuits from Birstall in the South, to Whitehaven, Workington, and Cockermouth in the North, and from Bacup and Preston in the West, to Pateley Bridge in the East. This great Round, the field of the labours of Grimshaw and Wesley's earliest preachers, is now covered by at least thirty circuits. The first mention of quarterly meetings in Conference was in the year 1749, when a plan for their establish-

ment, formed by John Bennet, was recommended to the nine divisions of England then recognised. Bennet, who was the first to form Societies in Cheshire and parts of Lancashire, was, as we have seen, in intimate communion with John Nelson, Grimshaw, and the other founders of Yorkshire Methodism, and had probably communicated his plan to them; for Grimshaw had evidently anticipated the decision of the Conference of 1749 in the institution of Quarterly Meetings for his Round. Smith and Tyerman refer to the Haworth book in a way that indicates their knowledge of no record earlier than this. The first entry in the book, in the beautiful handwriting of Grimshaw, is as follows:

“ October 18th, 1748.

At a meeting then held at Major Marshall's at Todmorden Edge, in the parish of Rochdale, and County of Lancaster, by the leaders of several classes in several religious societies (to wit) Rossendale, Roughlee, Heptonstall, Todmorden, etc. The following persons were chosen stewards of the said societies, and entrusted to transact the temporal affairs: James Greenwood, John Parker, John Madin, James Dyson.”

(A similar entry to the above is found in an old society account book at Todmorden, in the handwriting of David Lacy, of Longfield).

“Memorandum, It was then agreed that if there be any just cause to exchange any of the above stewards, it shall be done at the next Quarterly Meeting held for the said societies by the approbation of the Leaders then present.

Note. If any dispute arise touching the choosing of a Steward, or Stewards, the greater number of voices shall have the choice to elect a fresh steward. This shall be mentioned to our Minister, Mr. John Wesley, or his successor who shall end any dispute of this kind.”

From this note, appended to the appointment of Stewards, it is evident that John Wesley was already recognised as having authority over the societies existing in this Round, and that Grimshaw regarded himself as assistant to Wesley, and therefore a thorough Methodist. After his reference to this first record of Quarterly Meetings, Smith, in his “ History of Wesleyan Methodism,” says, “At this time, we are informed of that important feature of Methodist organisation, a class paper. John Nelson, on the appointment of Mr. R. Cawley to be leader at Alpraham, ruled a sheet of paper, inserted the names, and gave them to Mr. R. Cawley, whose name stood at the head of the list as leaders.”* Thus we have in this year the organisation of the two meetings of members and leaders in the

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Methodist Societies which have held together its spiritual people, rendered stable its finance, and maintained its discipline through all subsequent periods.

Todmorden Edge is a breezy upland tract of land contiguous to the town of Todmorden. It is dotted with a number of farmsteads, many of them older than Wesley's day, and the whole region is much as it must have been when the first Quarterly Meeting was held. The house where the memorable first Quarterly Meeting of the Haworth Round was held, is still in existence, and is called the Chapel House. At one time the Quakers worshipped there, and traces of their burial ground are still to be seen. Major Marshall, whose name occurs in the minutes, was born in 1713, and lived to be eighty-two years of age. He was intimately associated with the early history of the Society. For some years previous to his death, he resided at Lower Barn, Stansfield.

As the entries in the old circuit book are of wide interest in determining the time when various places began to contribute to its funds, I shall name them on the dates when they first appear, giving the sums paid and the leaders or preachers by whom they were sent.

From October 18th, 1748, to October 31st, 1749, all the entries are in Mr. Grimshaw's handwriting; afterward, to October 4th, 1762, in a hand resembling his, but in some points differing. I am inclined, however, to think the entries are Mr. Grimshaw's, but written hastily, the result of habit formed through stress of his excessive labours. An entry under date July 15th, 1762, goes far to confirm the supposition, as comparison of signatures to a series of letters, clearly shows that in the later years of Mr. Grimshaw's life, he signed his name as on that page.

Of the stewards appointed we know nothing in detail, save respecting John Madin, who represents Rossendale, and has been referred to as Darney's first convert. His name will appear again in the course of this history. James Greenwood heads the list of six leaders given for Todmorden. A list of ten for Heptonstall contains the name of John Parker. Roughlee has six leaders, one of them a woman, Alice Dyson; and James Dyson afterward appears as a representative of that part of the Round. Rochdale is the only other place named, with one leader, Richard Whitaker. The stewards were appointed to receive the class money and collections from the Societies, and pay the expenses incurred in carrying on the work; particularly furnishing the preachers with horses, when possible, paying turnpike bars, and purchasing for them suitable apparel when they were not able to provide these things for themselves.

The following entry from the *Methodist Manual*, by J. Crowther, 1810, describes the conditions of life in plain terms. "A preacher gets his victuals at the different places in his circuit where he may be labouring. And if a married man, he messes at home with his family, when he has no where to go." The places mentioned in the first entry, on October 18th, 1748, are:—Todmorden, with six leaders: James Greenwood, Elias Crowther, John Eastwood, Robert Ridman, John Marshall, William Marshall. Their joint classes contributed £1 1s. 11d. The "charges as per bill of Todmorden amounted to £1 4s. 8d., and 3s. was also paid for 'a book'" That book is in existence still. Some of the entries copied from it will enable us to discover the nature of the charges made by the different societies. Thus June 9th, 1752, "Received of Mr. Grimshaw towards the maintenance of Mr. Wesley and others, in all, 6s." Such were the moderate charges of this great evangelist. An entry April 20th, 1752, is "For William Darney foreside of his waistcoat, 7s." "For trimming for his coat, 9/11½." "To him for his wife 20s."

These pioneer preachers got nothing from men for their labour save what fell to the seventy sent forth by their Lord—food, lodging, and some clothing occasionally, but not always these things. It is not at all improbable that such entries as the above represent repairs to clothing damaged by mobs, which the little societies felt bound to make good, and compensation to the poor wife for loss of labour while the battered husband was recovering strength from some brutal assault. The societies were too poor to bear the costs of entertainment on special occasions, hence we find these entries, "May 5th, 1752, For friends at Quarterly Meeting, 1/3." "June 9th, Paid to James Hallworth for Mr. Wesley and others, in all, 12/2." There are occasional entries which indicate that the funds were disbursed for the relief of special distress. Thus we have, August 14th, 1752, "Paid to William Marshall when in a strait, 5/-." The scrupulous exactness of record as to expenditure is shown by the last extract given. "Dec. 14th, 1752, For writing paper ½d." The Todmorden society book is carefully preserved along with other old records in the circuit safe at Todmorden. From the Todmorden book we return to that of Keighley. Heptonstall appears in 1748 with nine leaders:—John Fielding, John Webster, John Parker, John Dearden, Richard Shuttleworth, Wm. Farrar, John Cotes, John Crosley, and Wm. Parker. The society contributes £2 3s. 9½d. and receives in charges £2 1s. 1½d.

Roughlee had six leaders:—Alice Dyson, Bernard Dyson, James Varley, Ed. Holt, Thos. Laycock, and James Hunter.

It sent £1 4s. 7d. and received on account of expenditure 15s. 2½d.

Rossendale had five leaders:—John Hayle, John Madin, Robert Holt, Geo. Taylor, and Josh. Holliwell. It sent £1 11s. 4½d. and received on account of expenditure £1 10s. 1½d.

Rochdale had one leader, Richard Whitaker. It sent 3/6 and received on account of expenditure 2/-. A total of £6 5s. 2½d.

There is another payment, "Charges when we met, 5/-," which I presume would be the cost of the dinner for the twenty-eight, including Grimshaw. The balance of 1s. 7d. was given to John Dearden and William Darney. Possibly Dearden, like Darney, was one of the preachers in the Round.

Nothing gave Grimshaw higher pleasure than the visits to Haworth of the Wesleys and Whitefield. At those times prayers were read in the church, and then from a scaffold in the church-yard, the preachers addressed thousands upon thousands in the name of the Lord. Whitefield in his Journal says, "September, 1848, I visited Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth. In the parish church, where this venerable apostle constantly laboured, I administered the Lord's Supper to upwards of a thousand communicants, and preached in the church yard to six thousand hearers."

On one of these occasions, when Whitefield was preaching, he saw a man on the top of the tower, to whom he cried, with his voice of thunder, "Man, I have a word for thee." This sudden address led to the man's conversion. At another visit, after earnest supplication that the Holy Spirit might descend in richest influence, he announced with solemnity the text, "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." There was then a pause; but the silence was broken by a wild shriek of terror. This was the cause of some commotion, but Whitefield exhorted the people to remain still; and Grimshaw, hastening towards him, was heard to say, "Brother Whitefield, you stand among the dying and the dead—an immortal soul has been called into eternity; the destroying angel is passing over the congregation; cry aloud, and spare not!" The text was again announced, and all listened with awe-stricken countenances. The Countess of Huntingdon and Lady Margaret Ingham were present; and from the spot near which they stood, a loud cry was again heard, and it was announced that another soul had fallen by the hand of the destroyer. The eloquent Whitefield rose to the appalling nature of the occasion; there was a solemnity like that which pervades the darkened chamber when the struggle of the dying has commenced; and all hearts thrilled

with intense emotion as the impenitent sinner was warned of the terribleness of his position. On these great occasions after Whitefield, or Wesley, had finished his open-air sermon, he returned into the church, and, assisted by Grimshaw, administered the Lord's Supper to as many as the church would contain. Whitefield says, in June, 1750, "At Haworth, on Whit-Sunday, the church was almost thrice filled with communicants."

The Haworth Round was always called Grimshaw's circuit, and the preachers stationed there were called Grimshaw's preachers; because he officiated as Mr. Wesley's assistant in the Round. He visited the classes quarterly and renewed their tickets; he attended and preached at the quarterly meetings, and held love-feasts in the societies. Grimshaw likewise attended the Conference when held in Leeds, and always preached on such occasions. In the year 1749, Wesley gave the most conclusive proof possible of his high esteem for Grimshaw, and the opinion he held of his judgment and capacity as a leader of men. For the first time he had a deed drawn up by three eminent Counsel for settling the trusts of Methodist preaching houses throughout the connexion. In it the appointment of preachers was vested, first in John Wesley, after his death in Charles Wesley, and then, should he survive them, in William Grimshaw, and lastly, after the decease of the three, in Conference.* Three years later this appointment was again made in the deed of a chapel at Bolton, in Lancashire, showing that Wesley considered Grimshaw so thorough a Methodist as to purpose making him the head of the connexion.

One of the earliest lay preachers in Yorkshire, most intimately connected with the Haworth Round, was Jonathan Maskew. He was one of the two named in the letter of Williams of Kidderminster. One of his grandsons, living in 1862, searched the registers of Haworth, Keighley, Bingley, and Otley, and found the name at Otley. Also an old man in the neighbourhood of Burley told him that the parents of Jonathan Maskew lived at a corn mill near Burley, and that he was born there. In another letter it is said that his parents were Friends, and came from Scotland, and that his father was a corn-dealer.

The Rev. J. Gautler, his biographer in the *Magazine* of 1798, says, "Jonathan Maskew was born in the year 1713. His parents were comparatively poor, and in his childhood his acquirements were little beyond reading and writing." In very early life he knew conviction of sin, but had no one to guide him into truth. As he approached man-

* Myles 22.

hood these convictions deepened, and he sought, by reform and amendment of life, for peace of conscience, but only found deeper wretchedness, and a sense of helplessness under his burden of sorrow. By degrees light dawned upon his mind, and at last he fully saw the divine method of salvation. "It should be remembered that this was not effected by any known human means, nor by the Methodists with whom he was afterwards connected, for their persons and doctrines were at that time unknown to him, but by the good providence of God, and the influence of the Holy Spirit."

From information communicated in 1863 to Mr. C. D. Hardcastle, of Leeds, by descendants of Maskew, we learn that he was disinherited by his father for joining the Methodists. This caused him to seek a home under the roof of Grimshaw, with whom he lived as one of the family for some years, travelling with him on his preaching tours, and when at home superintending his glebe. The Rev. J. Gaulter writing from Rochdale, in 1789, says, that "To this day in Rossendale, Maskew is best known by the name of 'Mr. Grimshaw's man.' " Preaching with Grimshaw's warm approval, he would be in closest sympathy with the Methodists when they appeared in Haworth, and it is not surprising to find that he was one of the first members of society in that parish. As his heart was now filled with the love of God, and zeal for His cause, we find him extending his preaching tours to various parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The unction of his word, and the warmth of his address, were well remembered fifty years after this period. When in the vigour of life, fearless of danger or the inclemency of seasons, and in the midst of violent and barbarous persecutors, he preached the Gospel of Christ.

He had painful experience of persecution in connection with the exercise of his ministry at Yeadon. The Rev. C. Radcliffe tells us that Methodism found its way into Yeadon about the year 1747. A man of the name of James Rhodes was the first Methodist who visited the village and held prayer meetings there. This man's brother Joseph, who was a local preacher, preached the first sermon at the house of Judith Jackson. He was followed by Samuel Mortimer, who for some time visited Yeadon fortnightly and preached at the house of John Dawson, senior. He formed a class which met at Christopher Long's; the leader's name was John Hudson. Nearly three years elapsed before any of the members professed to have found peace with God. Betty Dixon was the first who felt the pardoning love of God. Soon after this Isaac Brown, a native of Hawks-worth, who travelled in the Haworth Round in 1760, embraced

the truth, and greatly helped those who believed through grace.

The following anecdote is a striking instance of the general ignorance which prevailed in the middle of the eighteenth century. Joseph Rhodes was preaching on one occasion at Yeadon, in the open air, near the cottage of a man of the name of Penitent. In the course of his sermon, he frequently made use of the word "penitent." Some of the congregation, after he had finished his discourse, expressed great surprise that the preacher should have talked so much about "Old Penitent, and never said anything about Joan (John) and Jose (Joseph), his two sons." It was about twelve months after the introduction of Methodism into Yeadon that the demon of persecution became active there.

Whatever might be the date of the introduction of Methodism into Yeadon, it is evident from various circumstances that Methodist preachers had visited the neighbourhood, if not the village itself, between the years 1742 and 1747. Grimshaw, in his letter to Gillies on the progress of the Gospel through the instrumentality of Methodism, tells us that "About the year 1744 God was pleased to visit Keighley (a market town three miles from Haworth), Silsden, Sutton, Addingham, Menston, Bingley, Baildon, and many other places. Thos. Colbeck has been one main instrument, with some others,—Jonathan Maskew, Paul Greenwood, &c.,—in His gracious hands here."

Exasperated by the intrusion of Methodist preachers into his parish, the Rev. H. Wickham, Rector of Guiseley, and his curate, Rev. Mr. Reynolds, took violent steps to prevent their preaching. We have already seen that the former, who was a Justice of the Peace, issued a warrant in 1745 for the committal of Jonathan Reeves to York Castle, and for the apprehension of Wesley as a vagabond. They, or their comrades, must have given occasion for this action; hence the assignment of an earlier date than 1747 for at least some attempts at preaching in Guiseley parish. Over the door of the rectory, on the outskirts of Guiseley, there is a tablet bearing a Latin inscription which ought to have reproved this bitter ecclesiastic. It runs thus:—"Anno Domini, 1601. The house of the faithful Pastor, not of the blind leader; not of the robber; the house of Robert Moore, Rector of the Church, founder of the house. Woe to the sacrilegious man—woe to the enemies of Levi. Robert Moore." The beautiful old church also still stands on a knoll near this ancient parsonage. In it there is a tablet lauding the virtues of this rector.

Despite the dangers to be faced, Jonathan Maskew entered this seat of Satan probably in 1747 or 1748, and shared the fate of his predecessors. He had been

preaching at a small village near Leeds, and at the close of the service sat down in a house with a gentleman, one of his friends. While they were conversing, a mob, armed with sticks, stones, and a pistol, surrounded the house. The gentleman, who wore a black coat and white wig, was seen through the window, and the mob cried, ‘Here he is! here is the parson! we will soon do for him!’ The evening, which had been remarkably fine, in a few moments became gloomy, and thick clouds announced an approaching storm. A torrent of rain descended, attended with tremendous claps of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning. The gentleman as soon as the storm came on, opened one of the windows and addressed the rioters on the impiety of their conduct. They left the house and sought shelter under the neighbouring hedges.

Maskew and his friends seized the opportunity of escape, and attempted to reach a place of security. Notice of their flight was communicated to the mob, who pursued them with shouts, fired the pistol, and strained every nerve to overtake them, but in vain. From the character of the men, their threats and number, it is more than probable, that had not the good providence of God interposed, Maskew and his friend would that night have become the victims of lawless rage and hatred of the gospel.

Undaunted by this violent usage Maskew still persevered in proclaiming the gospel. While preaching one evening, the mob came and pulled him down, tore his clothes, and dragged him on the pavement on his naked back, which was very much lacerated. One of the mob got hold of his neckerchief, intending to strangle him; but another, named Holmes, moved with pity, when he saw that Maskew was likely to be murdered, rescued him out of the hands of his barbarous associates, and led him to the house of Mr. John Brown, the father of Mr. Isaac Brown. But the confusion was great indeed; the fury of the mob was like the roaring sea, and Brown feared the consequences if he afforded the preacher an asylum; and before the door could be opened for his admission a man named William Russell came with fiend-like fury, seized Maskew, and took him forcibly out of the hands of Holmes. A courageous female standing by, seeing this, seized Maskew by the coat, already torn from top to bottom, and held him fast; and his friends got him out of the hands of the mob once more.

Darney also suffered much abuse from the Yeadon and Guiseley mobs. Preaching one evening at Yeadon, as he was giving out his text, “When the strong man armed keepeth his house in peace, etc.,” the curate of Guiseley, at the head of the mob, rushed into the house, and asked the preacher, who the

strong man armed was. "The devil," replied Darney. "Give me your name, give me your name!" vociferated the curate; "Is your name Grimshaw?" One of the mob, who knew Darney, cried out, "It is Scotch Will." Then there was a general shout of, "Pull him down, pull him down." His enemies tried to get hold of him, but could not, the surrounding crowd was so very dense. Then they endeavoured to extort from him a promise that he would never come to Yeadon again. Darney, who was a man of great courage, cried out, "Never while I breathe." He meant that he never would make such a promise; but the mob construed his words differently, in consequence of which, their fury somewhat abated; and when they became divided among themselves, William Hall, a high churchman, said to the curate, "O! Mr. Reynold's, I am surprised that you should come hither to disturb people, when in the church you pray for your persecutors, that God would turn their hearts." This pointed reproof made a deep impression on his mind; and for some time afterwards he appeared as if inclined to melancholy. It is reported that it produced a change for the better in his conduct. Soon after this Mr. Reynolds was summoned to appear before the Judge of all the earth.

In the year 1750 there were one hundred and five families in Yeadon, and John Nelson visited them without molestation, as did also Titus Knight and Abraham Butterfield, and many became happy partakers of the glorious liberty of the children of God. The rector did not succeed by these means in stamping out Methodism. The people called Methodists continued to assemble in a small room at Guiseley Green bottom, in which Wesley preached. In 1753 Grimshaw opened a preaching room at the same place, and Wesley again preached there. Whitefield also preached at Guiseley Green, and there won many souls for his Master. Though Yeadon is one and a half miles from the spot,—when Whitefield preached in the open air, so clear and powerful was his voice, that it was heard at the bottom of that village.

CHAPTER IX.

In endeavouring to trace the growth of the great Haworth Round we find early mention of Brimicroft, a village about six miles from Preston, and a short distance from Brindle, where Grimshaw was born; and we can easily imagine that the warm-hearted evangelist, when he began to initerate, would feel a deep concern for the people of his native place, and desire to make some atonement for former evil example by preaching himself, or sending his helpers to preach the gospel to them. Anyhow, Brimicroft became the mother society of the Preston and Blackburn portion of the Round. Darney, in his notice of this region, showed that regular visits were paid by the preachers.

At Sherfinside and Brimicroft

The work it is begun;

And Satan's soldiers they do fight,

For fear we take Blackburn.

Darney, Maskew, and Paul Greenwood, we gather from the circuit book, were widening the field of their labours in North-east Lancashire, and in a letter to Maskew, to be quoted later, the Rev. John Milner, vicar of Chipping, speaks of him in such terms of esteem and affection as may well lead us to think he might have been brought to a knowledge of the truth by that lay preachers instrumentality.

In a letter to Dr. Gillies, written by Grimshaw, July 19th, 1754, Darney is specifically named as the chief pioneer in the work of evangelizing that part of Lancashire; and we know from another letter of Grimshaw to Gillies, that the dates given were not mere guesses, but careful statements of facts, after consultation with his lay helpers. Grimshaw says, "In the year 1746, by this man (Darney) the Lord pushed the work westward. Great numbers in the next parish (Heptonstall) were awakened and brought to the knowledge of Jesus. Lancashire now received the first revival. Pendle Forest (contiguous to Chipping), Colne parish, Todmorden, Rossendale, and soon after Haslingden. Rochdale and its parish were visited by the Lord, and many brought to acknowledge His free redeeming and saving power."

Later in the same letter he says, "For some years past, the Lord, I trust, has been pleased to open the hearts of a great many people by the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Ingham before-

mentioned, Mr. Wm. Batty, and some others in Pendle Forest, Paythorn, Sladeburn, Clapham parish, Dent, Winchley Dale (Wensley Dale), Russendale, Kerbay Steven, Burtree (or Burton), all of these, I think, except the first in the North-west of Yorkshire from hence. By these men the Lord hath visited Kendale, Roundthwaite, and other places in Westmoreland. There are, I believe, many lively members of the Lord Jesus in these places."

These quotations and dates show when Darney published his poem on the spread of the Gospel in 1751, the Round in this direction was organised, for he says,

To Chipping and to Wycoler
We go each fortnight day;
I wish we could see fruit appear;
For that we still do pray.

On January 11th, 1750, Milner writes to Wesley, from Chipping, in a strain of familiarity which indicates a friendship of some standing. The letter is valuable as revealing efforts to effect union between Wesley and Ingham. It also brings to our notice the Rev. John Graves, vicar of Clapham, who, in that parish, was preparing the ground for the spread of the gospel.

It is evident that Milner had a very favourable opinion of Ingham, and I am glad to add his testimony to my earlier notices of this evangelist, in order to show how much he and his preachers did to spread the knowledge of Christ, despite their lapses into antinomian error. The Battys, who were Ingham's most powerful preachers, sprang from Newby Cote, near Clapham. Mr. Milner says, "My most dear and reverend Brother, whom I love in the Truth. Great was my astonishment at my first reading of those wonderful things that God, by your instrumentality, has wrought; and scarcely was my surprise less, when I received the kind notice of your Christian Library. A work that will be a blessing to all future ages, as well as the present, and promote the glory of God and the good of souls to the end of time. Most cheerfully do I subscribe to it."

Some portion of the letter appears to have been withheld, for somewhat abruptly Mr. Milner goes on to say,—“My friend is blest with a large and beautiful race of children, still increasing. His eldest son he is very desirous of having under your care, if possible, for some time. His fate will be more than a letter of recommendation. Some time ago he was under convictions; I do not spare both to exhort and pray for him. His father is fully persuaded that your presence, your exhortations, and prayers, will be a blessing to him. We indeed ourselves look for no little spiritual edification and comfort from one whom God

has so highly favoured, and blest above others. Nothing but my confinement to the care of a parish (not at present well disposed to hear the glad tidings of the gospel) would have hindered me, long since, doing myself the pleasure of seeing you, and hearing the word of peace and reconciliation from your lips.

Most of my friends of the clergy have forsaken me. Not one of them cares to look me in the face. Almost all manner of evil is spoken of me. But I bless God none of these things terrify or discourage me. Rather I begin to hope, for being evil spoken of for the truth, I shall have more success than I have hitherto had, when I had the good word of all.

I was at Clapham, in Yorkshire, when my friend did himself the honour of writing to you. And I acknowledge myself greatly obliged by your last kind favour. The vicar there, Mr. Graves, still continues my friend. He is one whom I brought acquainted with your writings. He is convinced of the truth, and preaches it with power, not only in the pulpit, but from house to house. But he has had much opposition from the Moravians on one side, and the profane scoffers on the other (no small party, I fear, in most parishes). Through his uncommon diligence, there are a great many in his parish awakened, and gladly hear the gospel from him.

I have had twice the pleasure of seeing Mr. Ingham; and must say there is a great deal amiable sweetness in his whole behaviour; and I have often and earnestly wished that he was disentangled from the Moravians, and cordially *one* with you in promoting the interests of the gospel. The last time I saw him, he was employed in reconciling two of the brethren who had run great hazards, and suffered much hardship in the service of the gospel. He allows you incomparably the preference for prudence. But says, you have not done the *Count* justice. That he endeavoured to prevail with you not to publish the difference; and thought he had prevailed, till he heard it was published;—that he would gladly have been reconciled, and got Mr. W—d to go from his house to N—e, to bring about a reconciliation; but that you were not inclined to it, ‘The time not being yet come.’

At first I looked upon the difference, as that between Paul and Barnabas, which was a furtherance to the gospel of Christ. But since I knew more of the doctrine of *still brethren*, I have not had the same favourable opinion of them. Yet I cannot help thinking Mr. Ingham happy: may some good providence bring you speedily together, for surely such souls must glow with love at meeting, and all unkindness fly at first sight!

I endeavoured when at Clapham, to engage my friend to

write to you, and beg your advice how to proceed with the Moravians, some of whom have behaved with great disrespect, and endeavoured to weaken his hands. Notwithstanding which, he is greatly followed; he has six or seven places of assembling for religious worship in his parish, in private houses; at some of which the Moravians are present, but not always as friends, but spies rather. If you think proper to give him a word of encouragement and advice—for he has a high veneration for your judgment,—and send him the proposals for the Christian Library, I hope he will engage in promoting so good a design. For my part, I will not fail to press him to it, and some others of my acquaintance.

My dear Brother, I beg to be remembered in your addresses to the Throne of Grace; that I may not only be faithful in the work of our blessed Lord, but may see some fruit of my labours; that I may not fail, nor be discouraged, but rather encouraged, with the difficulties I meet with in the glorious warfare. If my poor petitions may come up with acceptance through the Beloved,—still may you be carried as on angels wings;—may the tottering kingdom of Satan fall before you wherever you come; may you go on in the strength of the Lord God, conquering and to conquer, till His Kingdom ruleth over all. I shall long to hear of the time fixed for our seeing your face.

O! may all your undertakings for the glorious gospel succeed to the utmost wish. May you prosper and be in health, as your soul also prospers; and may the Giver of all grace still preserve you the same lowly follower of the Lamb. . . . that you may with the great Apostle of the Gentiles say, 'Not I, but the grace of God.' I am, dear sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant, J. MILNER."

From the last paragraph of Mr. Milner's letter I gather that Wesley had arranged that they should meet. Probably before April, 1741, they had not seen each other. In his journey northward in that year, Wesley was met at Bolton by Milner, who rode back with him to Ribchester, where several clergymen had appointed to meet him; "With whom," says Wesley, "we spent one or two hours in serious and useful conversation. Between five and six we reached the vicarage at Chipping, where a few serious people soon assembled. Next day (Friday, April 12th), we rode to Ambleside."

There is a tradition that Wesley preached in Keasden, a moorland district near Clapham station, and that the reading desk from which he preached was put into the Methodist preaching-room at Clapham, a building now demolished. We know that Milner was anxious that Wesley

and his friend, the vicar of Clapham, should be closely acquainted with each other, and the latter might be one of the clergymen that met Wesley at Ribchester. If Mr. Graves was a guest for the night at Chipping, they might by rising at Wesley's usual hour, 4-0 a.m., easily reach Keasden, and find time for a sermon from Wesley in one of Mr. Graves' preaching places, and then proceed to Clapham, thus resting the horses for the long ride thence to Ambleside. To preach the gospel on new ground, and encourage workers freshly raised up by God, Wesley spared neither physical labour, nor shrank from discomfort; and from maps of the time, we think he would, in traversing roads over the hilly region between Slaidburn and Clapham, reach the main road to Kendal and Ambleside almost as well as if he had gone by way of Garstang and Lancaster.

On September 11th of that year, Mr. Milner attended a conference of preachers held in Leeds, by Charles Wesley, where he met not only that kindred spirit the vicar of Haworth, but also the following well-known preachers:—John Nelson, Wm. Shent, Christopher Hopper, Thomas Colbeck, Jonathan Reeves, John Bennet, Paul Greenwood, Michael Fenwick, Titus Knight, Robert Swindells, and Matthew Watson. Under date September 12th Charles Wesley says, "I took a delightful leave of them at five (a.m.). We all agreed to postpone opinions till the next general Conference; settled the affairs of the church the best we could, and parted friends. At three I took horse with Mr. Grimshaw, Milner, Shent, Bennet, for Birstall. I expounded Isa. 35. with great enlargement and assistance. I rejoiced with the steadfast society, and concluded the happy day with John Bennet in prayer."

We hear no more of Milner, and as Charles Wesley went from Birstall to Bradford and Halifax, it is very probable that he would accompany Grimshaw to Keighley and Haworth, as these places would lie on the most direct route from Birstall to Chipping. The following year, 1752, Wesley was again at Chipping. The churchwardens, and three or four others, determined to prevent his preaching; but after a calm and friendly debate with them, on the Saturday evening, they went away much cooler than when they came. On Sunday, June 7th, there was such a congregation present as was never seen there before, and a solemn awe rested on them from the beginning of the service to the end. Wesley both read prayers and preached, and in the afternoon he preached again, from the words, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." The people were all attention.

Maskew was labouring in Newcastle in the year 1752, and a letter written to him by Milner, reveals that servant of God

facing opposition, and heartily labouring in a wide field to spread Christ's Kingdom.

"Chipping, November 2nd, 1752.

My Dear Brother,

Whom I love in the truth. Your kind and loving epistle I received the last Lord's Day, and was not a little glad to find that you remember me in your prayers before the throne of grace. I doubt not but the work of God prospers in your hand, and rejoice to hear that as your day so your strength is; that the more you labour the more you prosper both in soul and body. Verily we may say we serve a good Master.

You have probably heard of my being called before the Bishop, for the high offence of letting Mr. Wesley preach in my pulpit. I came off triumphantly, and my adversaries have just cause to be ashamed. The Bishop heard me with so much mildness and candour, and I told him so plainly and fully the happy efficacy and success of the preaching, even of the lay preachers, that I have great hopes he will not be an enemy, but a friend. Do you, my brother, remember him in your prayers; that he may do the work of an evangelist; that he may so discharge the office of a Bishop as to receive an immortal crown of glory, when the chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls shall appear. Amen!

That great and tremendous day will make awful discoveries. Then, I am persuaded, you, and such as you, will lift up your heads with joy, when many that now make a scoff of your labour would be glad to hide themselves, though it were under rocks and mountains. Indeed, my dear brother, I do heartily rejoice in your good success, and wish the pleasure of the Lord may daily prosper in your hands yet more and more. Well may the society flourish under your care, through the blessing of God upon your labours; if you knew what Mr. Wesley said of you, that 'ten such would carry the world before them.'

I go on but heavily, yet hope, through grace, that I shall be found faithful. The last week I was with Mr. Grimshaw, who is full of love and life. We were both at Bolton with Mr. Whitefield, who endeavoured to be a healer of the breach. He spoke much to prevent the spreading of a party spirit, and I hope not without effect. We must allow him the praise of a popular preacher; and all glory be ascribed to God, who has given such gifts to men for the edification of His church.

When the good providence of God brings you this way again, there are many that will be glad to see you. We have some that have found the precious pearl, and I hope many that are seeking earnestly for it. My last letter from my brother

Nathaniel makes me full of hope for him. He has often spoken of the serious, weighty words you spoke to him. O remember me and him in your prayers! who am your affectionate, but unworthy brother. J. MILNER."

Having failed, through the instrumentality of the Bishop, to hinder the introduction of Methodism into Chipping, its foes determined to try other means. On Saturday, April 7th, 1753, Wesley was again there; and on the Sunday morning, as Mr. Milner and he came into the aisle of the church from the vestry, a man thrust himself between them, and said to Wesley, 'You shall not go into the pulpit.' 'I am only going into the desk,' said Wesley. 'But you shall not go there, either,' said the man, pushing him back by main strength. Eight or ten noisy men joined him quickly, and set themselves in battle array. Mr. Milner, at Wesley's request, began the service and read prayers. Having no sermon with him, Mr. Milner could not preach; but, at the conclusion of the prayers, a great part of the congregation followed the ministers to the vicarage, where, it would seem, Wesley addressed them, as he did after the evening service; "and God made them large amends for their little disappointment in the morning."

There is a very brief record of the Conference of 1752 to which Charles Wesley said certain opinions were referred for discussion. On May 22nd, 1753, the Conference met in Leeds, and the three clerical members present were Wesley, Grimshaw, and Milner. The question of union with Mr. Ingham is likely to have been raised by Mr. Milner. He was doubtless made aware of the objectionable beliefs and practices of the Moravians by Wesley, and had found that Ingham desired to leave them and join himself and his societies to Wesley. The conduct of Count Zinzendorf, and publications to which Wesley refers in his journal, justify the censure passed upon them by the Conference of 1753, and the hesitation to unite with Ingham. The second question asked in the session of May 22nd is, "What can be done in order to bear a sufficient testimony against the corruptions of the Germans?" "It may not be improper to reprint the 'Letter to the Church at Herrnhuth,' with some additions, and a Dedication to the Count.

Q. 3. Can we unite, if it be desired, with Mr. Ingham?

We may now behave to him with all tenderness and love, and unite with him when he returns to the old Methodist doctrine."

I do not find Mr. Milner attending any Conference after 1753, of which we have a detailed record. From that date to 1764 the entries in Wesley's Journal concerning Conferences

are very brief. Of 1755 and 1758 we have the names of those attending. When Wesley visited Haworth on July 22nd, 1759, Milner accompanied him and read prayers. He retained the vicarage of Chipping until his death in 1777, at the age of 67.

If the whole history of Methodism, especially *Myles' Chronological List* of the preachers is consulted, it will be found that such was the *excessive labour* required from the small number of itinerants employed, and such the hardships endured, that with only a few exceptions, human nature absolutely sunk under the fatigue and pressure, and the preachers were either obliged to desist from want of strength for the work, or dropped prematurely into the grave, after labouring only a few years. Very few were able to support it any length of time. These were chiefly men of cool spirit and iron constitution.

Maskew, after preaching in the Haworth Round and as one of Wesley's itinerants for several years, became a resident of Dean Head, a farm between Rochdale and Todmorden. Grimshaw had introduced the preaching of the gospel into this place in a manner characteristic of him. He had observed a respectable man of that part of the country frequently present in his congregation. This person was only known to him by name. One day, without invitation, after he had done preaching, he said, "I shall preach at Mr. Clegg's on Tuesday next." He went, preached; Mr. Clegg and his wife were awakened, and soon after converted to God; a little society was formed, and the preaching in that neighbourhood continues to this day.

Mr. Clegg's death soon followed his reception of the gospel, but not without his experience of the blessedness of it in the struggle of expiring life. Some years after the death of Mr. Clegg, Maskew returned, by Wesley's appointment, to his old field of labour, the Haworth Round. In visiting Dean Head, an intimacy sprang up between him and Mrs. Clegg, which, ripening into affection, ended in their union.

After some time the concerns of his family obliged him to settle on a farm at Dean Head, from which he never removed, until under the weight of years he sunk into the grave. Dean Head is an old farm house at Temple, better known as the Summit Tunnel about a mile from Littleborough. It is close to Blackstone Edge, on the Lancashire side. I have visited the place, and found the old house incorporated with a more modern structure. The scenery is picturesque, but wild and bleak.

Maskew's retirement from the old itinerancy did not mean inaction. The farm which he occupied was surrounded by lofty hills. Over these dreary heights, by roads at that time almost impracticable, he continued to carry the gospel of his Master into Yorkshire, Rossendale, and Rochdale. He formed for himself

a circuit, which he ministered to for several years, with the promptitude and regularity of his itinerant life; and God continued to bless his soul and labour. The apostolic man, with primitive simplicity, collected his family for the purpose of prayer and praise, and according to the testimony of one of his children, for thirty years this had seldom been omitted. The united voice of the people among whom he lived was, that in piety, temper, seriousness, and every excellency of the Christian character, it was no exaggeration to say, Equalled he may have been, but not often excelled.

In the *Memoir* written by the Rev. J. Gaulter, it is said that after Maskew settled at Dean Head he began to lean toward Calvinistic doctrines; and ultimately accepted for a time the position of pastor to a Dissenting congregation not many miles from Dean Head. But as his mind was still in suspense, he cried to God for direction. He searched the Scriptures, not to press them into the service of a creed already formed, but that his views might be determinate on the subjects of his enquiry. One night, sleepless upon his bed, and weighing the arguments for and against the points in dispute, a passage of Scripture recurred to his mind with such light and conviction, that from that hour he reverted to his original principles, which he continued to maintain to the last moment of his life. He gave up his charge and returned to his first friends.

His grandchildren, living in 1863, strenuously maintained that Maskew never became the minister of any Dissenting congregation. Mr. Gaulter, however, wrote nearer the time, and had communication with persons who, being contemporary with Maskew, must have known the facts of the case. We know that he laboured in the midst of ardent Calvinists; that Darney, with whom he probably came often into contact, did not always see eye to eye with the heads of Methodism on doctrinal questions; and we have the testimony of Williams that one of Grimshaw's men was Calvinistically inclined; and that Grimshaw himself was not severe on the doctrine of election. Williams says in his letter of July 21st, 1746, "Of these exhorters one holds particular election, the other universal redemption, his (Grimshaw's) business is to hold the balance as even as he can betwixt both, and by all means keep them back from disputing, which he thinks would not only be unprofitable, but hurtful. 'My business', says he, 'is to offer Christ freely to all, and assure every coming soul of a hearty welcome.' 'As to the doctrine of election,' added he, 'I think it only concerns the assured, to whom it must be without doubt a joyful reflection to think God has chosen them in Christ. But I

cannot see what tendency it can have to bring souls to Christ for me to insist on that doctrine in ordinary preaching; accordingly I observe the apostles Peter and Paul, mention and apply is to none but saints.' " Maskew might well therefore be drawn aside for a short time; but once settled in Arminian doctrine, he continued to preach in the circuit he had formed, until increasing years and infirmities compelled him to give up country appointments.

He did not however cease preaching, but held services in his own house, and when he could stand no longer, sat, and while tears ran down his venerable face, called the people to partake of this divine mercy, and wash their guilty spirits in the blood of the Son of God.

In 1789, Jonathan Maskew, who was the last surviving trustee of Grimshaw's chapel at Haworth, conveyed it to a new trust. His signature to the deed is probably the only scrap of his handwriting in existence. He was then seventy-six years of age.

During the last months of Maskew's life, the members of his class, and other serious persons, were his constant visitors. They came to receive instruction from a father in the Lord, and to see a dying saint, cheered with the glorious prospects of immortality, having a confidence unshaken as the promises of God. On one occasion he said, "It is a blessing for Christ to be with us in life, but it is the top of blessings for us to be with Christ in Heaven." "O, that name, Jesus! how sweet it is!" This was frequently his pulpit language, and is remembered, not for its singularity, but for the animated fervour which an old disciple displayed, when he pronounced the name of the Friend of sinners.

In his last hours speech nearly failed, but signs, looks, and broken accents expressed the happiness of his soul. The last time he spoke, he raised one of his hands, and, with a smiling countenance said, "Look, James, look!" Surely there is some truth in the opinion that saints, in their approach to glory, have on earth a glimpse of heaven. He departed to the Father's house on August 3rd, 1793, in the 82nd year of his age.

Having made acquaintance with one of Grimshaw's men, Jonathan Maskew, we shall find it profitable to glean what fragments we can of the history of the other, Paul Greenwood. In the valley beyond Haworth, where it narrows and becomes wildly beautiful as it approaches the confines of Lancashire, stands Ponden, an ancient house embosomed in trees; for many generations the abode of the Heaton family. It was built in the year 1634. Adjacent to this fine old house there is a farm house, also of the Stuart period, which must have been the abode of

the Greenwood family. When the writer visited it, the farm house was going to ruin; and since that time, the Heaton family, long attached to Methodism at Scartop, have ceased to occupy their ancestral home at Ponden.

Paul Greenwood was awakened to a sense of his sin and danger by reading a religious tract,—supposed to be Mr. Seagrave's sermon on Gal. 3-24,—which was afterwards borrowed of the Greenwood family by Mr. Grimshaw, on his becoming resident at Haworth.

One day, young Paul, under deep conviction of sin, went into the barn to pray, where he continued an unusual length of time. His father, under some unpleasant apprehensions, went to see what had become of him, and found him in earnest prayer. After standing a few moments, he himself was powerfully affected, kneeled upon the ground, and began also to raise the voice of supplication. It was not long before the mother went in search of both; she stood still in like manner for a short time, then bowed the knee, and prayed earnestly for mercy. Soon afterwards they were joined by a brother, and then by a sister, who were no less earnest for salvation; and they all obtained peace with God before they left the place. This event occurred before Mr. Grimshaw obtained the living at Haworth, probably in 1740 or 1741, and before the name of *Methodist* was known by any of the family.

When Grimshaw, therefore, went to Haworth, he found at least one pious family in the neighbourhood, composed of the excellent of the earth; instead of having been the instrumental cause of young Paul's conversion, which Mr. Williams of Kidderminster was inclined to believe, (but still seemed to hesitate about reposing full confidence in the accuracy of his memory). It would rather appear that the Greenwood family, and Paul among others, had been of service to Grimshaw himself, by the loan of Mr. Seagrave's sermon.

Paul Greenwood is spoken of as commencing to itinerate under Wesley in the year 1747 by both Myles and Atmore. This presupposes acquaintance, and probably correspondence between Wesley and Grimshaw before Wesley's first visit to Haworth. The familiar style of the first letter of Grimshaw, dated May 30th, 1747, confirms that impression; and his observations on the progress of the work of God, in his letter to Gillies, strengthens the conviction that he was well informed about Wesley and in warm sympathy with him at an early date.

In 1747, Paul Greenwood was stationed in Dublin, at the very commencement of Methodism in Ireland. Charles Wesley had secured a room at Dolphin's Barn, and writing on October 11th, says, "I spent the evening with Mrs.

M——, a true mourner in Zion, till the Lord on Wednesday put the new song in her mouth. She set us all on fire with the warmth of her first love." This lady was a widow, a sister-in-law of Mr. Samuel Handy of Coolalough, in the parish of Ardnurcher, Westmeath. She went to hear Mr. C. Wesley preach, and thus was led to give her heart to God and become a member of the Society.

Mr. Handy, subsequently, on paying her a visit, was so impressed with the seriousness of her spirit, and the plainness of her attire, that he feared she had fallen into some pecuniary embarrassment, and therefore offered to do anything in his power to assist her. But she assured him that nothing adverse had happened to her, and that on the contrary she was more contented and happy than ever before.

In the course of the afternoon she intimated her intention to go in the evening to hear a Methodist preacher, and requested her brother-in-law to accompany her. At this he expressed great surprise. "What," said he, "do you go to hear these men? Are they not the false prophets, the wolves in sheep's clothing, of whom we are commanded to beware?" "I entreat you," she replied, "not to be led by false and unfounded reports, but to hear and judge for yourself"; and to oblige her, he reluctantly consented.

On entering the room at Dolphin's Barn he was not a little amazed to find his sister-in-law and himself surrounded by poor mean-looking people, so different from his wonted fellow-worshippers in the parish church; and proceeded to secure his pockets lest they should be picked. Soon a tall, thin man, in plain black clothes, with dark hair, entered, and took possession of the pulpit. He was Paul Greenwood. Mr. Handy regarded him with surprise, he being minus wig, gown, and bands, which, according to his idea, were essential to a minister of the gospel. He was still more astonished when the preacher, having given out a hymn, the congregation united in singing it with one heart and voice. "Wonderful," thought he, "that so despicable a people should be able to sing so delightfully!" The extemporaneous prayer that followed, so full of sacred unction, filled his heart, and prepared him to follow with no ordinary interest the preacher's discourse. This was accompanied with such light and power as produced a complete change in his views and feelings, and led him to resolve, "This people shall be my people, and their God shall be my God"—a solemn determination which he was enabled to keep through life.

At the close of the service, he requested his sister-in-law to

invite the preacher to breakfast, which she gladly did. At this interview Mr. Handy obtained such information as to the nature, design, and teaching of Methodism, as led him to give the servant of God a hearty invitation to his house, and to express his conviction that if he would come and preach, much spiritual good would follow. The request was promptly and thankfully complied with, and Coolalough became at once an established preaching place, and a centre from which divine light radiated for many miles round.”*

In 1748, Paul Greenwood introduced Methodism into Facit by preaching in the house of Edmund Hill. His text was: “This day is salvation come unto this house.” Truly prophetic was the passage; for much more than half a century the Methodist preachers were there entertained by Edward Hill and his descendants. Paul Greenwood was in the Haworth Round again during 1751, as there are entries concerning him in the Todmorden book, viz, “December 4th, 1750, Paul Greenwood for washing 1/- . January 7th, 1751, one night (probably for man and horse) 1/- . January 30th, 1751, Britches dyeing, 4d. September 3rd, 1751, noon (probably dinner) 6d.

Charles Wesley says of him, “Monday, July 29th, 1751, I had some discourse with Paul Greenwood, an Israelite indeed; glad to work with his hands as well as preach.”

Until 1757 there does not appear to have been any regularly formed circuit between Leeds and Newcastle, therefore the Leeds preachers more or less itinerated in the vast district extending from Leeds to Hexham.

In 1757 the Dales circuit was formed (of which Barnard Castle was the circuit town), including Silverdale, Arkengarthdale, Wensleydale, Teesdale, Weardale, Allendale, Alston, and Hexamshire. The circuit involved a vast amount of labour, and required the travelling of about four hundred miles to complete the round. The horse was scarcely less important than his master in days when the Round sometimes extended over two or three counties. For a quarter of a century Thos. Oliver rode the horse that a friend purchased for five pounds and gave to him when he went to his first circuit. He travelled comfortably upon it not less than 100,000 miles. This however was a model horse, “such another as, in many respects, none of my brethren could ever boast of.” John Pritchard was less fortunate. His horse became sick, and the poor preacher had to travel on foot during one winter and spring about twelve hundred miles. Over the immense Leeds or Yorkshire circuit Paul Greenwood travelled; and we have now to record an incident which occurred during an attempt he made to preach at Middleton, in Teesdale.

* Crookshank 1—22 and 24.

On a Whit-Sunday, supposed to be in the year 1752, Greenwood had come from Leeds and intended to deliver his message from God in the street at Middleton, in Teesdale; but the mob being apprised of it, gathered together and sounded a beast's horn, threatening terrible things against the preacher. Matthew Rowell, from Allendale, being present, chose rather to endure the brunt of the attack himself than that Paul Greenwood, who was a stranger, should be exposed to it. He accordingly stood up in the forenoon and commenced the service in the open-air. The mob drew up, and one of them, a stout able-bodied man, attempting to seize hold of Rowell, suddenly became powerless and began to tremble in every limb. Another, more resolute and determined, then approached, cursing and swearing at them for not having accomplished their purpose. He seized the preacher and threw him into the street over a battlement near the house in front of which he was preaching. They then dragged him down the hill (or as it is termed, the Hood), threatening to throw him into the river. A man named Peter Bainbridge, looking on, and being seriously apprehensive of disastrous consequences, though not himself connected with the society, hastily ran into his house, took down an old rusty sword, and sallied forth to smite with it. But the Methodists restrained him from making use of it, and advised him to put it up again into its place and not attempt to defend the cause of God with such unhallowed weapons.

Just at this juncture, when the storm was at its height, Joshua Hammond, Joshua Addison, and a few other friends from Barnard Castle, unexpectedly made their appearance, having been induced to come to Middleton in consequence of a powerful impression made on the mind of one of them by a dream the preceding night. They cheerfully offered themselves to the violence of the mob, that the preacher might be rescued. Joshua Addison especially, who was a man of little stature, lest he should be lost sight of in the crowd, several times leaped up, exclaiming, "I am one of them, I am one of them." The mob, relinquishing their hold of the preacher, commenced an attack upon them, and after using them very ill, at length drove them out of the place without their sustaining any serious injury, though Joshua Addison had to lament the loss of a new hat. The principal persecutors, probably supposing they had been doing God service, after finishing their work repaired to the church and received the Sacrament; whether or not they were living in charity with all men they evidently thought it unnecessary to examine. Paul Greenwood preached in peace in Newbiggin in the evening.*

* Steele's "Barnard Castle."

We have occasional descriptions by Wesley of remarkable scenery, and one of them conveys the impression made upon him by the High Force waterfall, near Middleton. May 12th, 1779 (after preaching at Cotherstone and in Teesdale), Wesley says, "I went a little out of my way to see one of the wonders of nature. The Tees rushes down between two rocks, and falls sixty feet perpendicular into a basin of water sixty feet deep. In the evening I preached to the lovely congregation in Wear-dale."

The High Force above referred to is a truly noble spectacle. The descent is greater than Wesley states, being eighty-two feet perpendicular into the basin, tossing up a prodigious spray, and filling the valley with the thunder of its fall. To this spot of wild beauty tourists continually resort. Wesley had been in the habit of visiting the neighbourhood for upwards of twenty years, and was frequently within three or four miles of the place. How is it, then, that this was his first visit to the remarkable fall? No man had a keener appreciation of beautiful or sublime scenery, but he put all this in subjection to the one work of his life—the salvation of souls and care of the churches.

In that business his labour was unparalleled. We find from his journals, when in this quarter, that he would preach at 9 o'clock in the morning in Weardale, cross the Pike Law, where no carriage could travel, and where every now and then he was in danger of sticking in a quagmire, and be at Newbiggin at one. Then, taking his horse again, and crossing another chain of moors and mountains, would preach in Swaledale at seven in the evening; an amount of labour from which many, not deficient in energy, would shrink.

Payments are made to Paul Greenwood in the Haworth round in 1754-5, and he appears to have been located in the Burnley section, as he brings contributions to the board from that town, and also from Haslingden and Simonstone. Paul Greenwood is named in the conveyance of ground for a chapel at Haworth, dated May 1st, 1758, as one of the trustees, and is called a gentleman. He seems to have remained in the round during part of 1759, for we find him bringing to the quarterly meeting, January 18th, from New Mill 5/6 and receiving 5/-. He was also stationed here in the year 1763 and 1764.

In 1760 Paul Greenwood was sent to Norwich, where John Oliver was bearing an intolerable burden of responsibility. Oliver says: "At the sight of him my spirit revived, I think as much as Jacob's did when he saw Joseph's waggons. We laboured together in much love, and not without success. He was a man

of a truly excellent temper and exemplary behaviour. He was constantly serious, but not sad: he was always cheerful, but not light. And the people drank into the same spirit, so that the year passed very agreeably."

In 1765 Paul Greenwood and Peter Jaco were stationed in Sheffield, where they laboured in love with each other and with the people, but not without much opposition from several young men, from sixteen to twenty years of age. Through the whole of the winter. Mulberry Street Chapel was beset, within and without, by these disorderly ruffians. The cloaks and gowns of females were frequently cut in pieces with knives and scissors. At other times the chief of the gang entered the chapel in harlequin attire, with a cat or a fowl concealed under his clothes: this he tortured so as to cause it to produce continuous mews, or cackles, to the great annoyance of both preacher and people. By every species of grimace and buffoonery he at the same time kept up the laughter of his companions. When expelled from the interior of the building, he contrived to scale the roof, where, in front of a large skylight, nearly over the pulpit, he attempted to mimic the preacher. Unable to practise this, ~~often~~ as he wished, and irritated with the repeated checks which he received, he and his associates assailed the windows; and such was the violence employed, that the ~~fr. don~~ were driven to the necessity of having shutters for the windows, both above and below. This being done, they were still annoyed with the noise of bricks, stones, sticks, and other instruments striking the wood.

The tempest of persecution raged with but few intervals of repose until the middle of summer, when an awful providence terminated it for a period. During Sheffield races, the riot leader, who was an expert swimmer, and had acquired considerable celebrity as a diver, went with several of his associates to the Don, in order to bathe. After diving a number of times, he climbed on to a large post which stood by the edge of the water, and with an air of mirthful triumph exclaimed, "Another dip, and then for a bit more sport with the Methodists!" He threw himself off his point of elevation; but it was his last dip! It is supposed that going head foremost, he sank into the mud at the bottom of the river, and was unable to free himself. However that might be, it was some time before he was found, and when brought out, all attempts at resuscitation were in vain.

At the Conference of 1766 Paul Greenwood was appointed to the Manchester circuit along with Messrs. Pawson, Jaco and Allen. Pawson says, "We were

as the heart of one man. I am inclined to think there never were four men more closely united than we were. Our circuit was very extensive, as it took in Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, Newcastle, Warrington, Liverpool, Bolton, and many other towns. This was a very happy and prosperous year; but in March, the Lord was pleased to call home his faithful servant Paul Greenwood, who died of a fever at Warrington. This was a distressing trial to me. He was a truly apostolical man, and exceedingly beloved by the people. He was one of the most sincere and upright men I ever was acquainted with. He had travelled about twenty years, and had been a blessing wherever he laboured. I never saw a man more universally lamented by the people than he was. I preached his funeral sermon in deep sorrow, yet with uncommon liberty, from 1 Cor. 15-57. 'Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, &c.' Mr. Greenwood was delirious most of the time of his sickness, yet all his conversation was spiritual and heavenly. The last night of his life, he preached and prayed the whole time till daybreak appeared in the morning. He then said, 'Another sun shall arise; Christ the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in His wings,' and immediately fell asleep in the Lord. It is remarkable, that his aged mother, a most excellent Christian, died happy in the love of God, at Keighley, the same morning. What a joyful surprise, when those two kindred spirits met together at the gates of Heaven! Wesley in a letter to Christopher Hopper of June 18th, 1767, says, "I suppose it was the death of honest Paul Greenwood which occasioned the report of yours. He could ill be spared; but he was ready for the Bridegroom; so it was fit he should go to him."

CHAPTER X.

HAVING followed the career of Paul Greenwood so far as traces of him could be found, we must return to records of the circuit book in 1749. At the quarterly meeting, January 10th, 1749, Goodshaw Chapel appears on the books; a place about four miles from Burnley, with two leaders, John Butterworth and Josiah Helliwell. It sends to the quarterly meeting 10/3, and receives 8/2. At this meeting £1 10s. 0d. is paid to Darney's wife, and 14/- for a pair of boots for Darney. On April 18th, 1749, Higham, near Burnley appears, Thos. Lowcock, Leader. It sends 3/- and receives 3/9. Padiham, leader James Hunter, sends 6/2 and receives 3/9. Midgley, near Hebden Bridge, leaders Richard Taylor and Abraham Stansfield, sends 3/7½. Darney's wife receives £2 2s. 0d. Mr. Greenwood of Heptonstall, 5/-, and Mr. Utley, for first volume of sermons, 3/1. July 11th, 1749, Lodge, near Burnley, leader, James Hunter, sends 4/11. Pinned to this page of the Circuit Book is a memorandum, "April 19th, 1749, Lent the brethren at Halifax £1 10s. 6d." On July 11th of that year, we have the entry, "Given to Halifax Society towards defraying the law charge £1 10s. 6d."

This law charge was probably connected with some indictment for riotous proceedings, as Halifax was a place bitterly opposed to Methodism, and the charge might possibly be connected with what occurred there during a visit of Wesley on August 12th, 1748, to which reference has been made.

October 31st, 1749. Miller Barn, leaders, John Hoyle, James Pilling, James Nuttal, John Kipper, John Madin, George Ramsbottom. Lent £1 11s. 1d. Received £1 1s. 11d. Major Marshall receives for dinners, &c., 6/-, which indicates that the quarterly meeting had again been held at his house. At the close of the accounts for this quarter is the following entry: "Whereas it appears from the book that no accounts are therein inserted from October 31st, 1749, to this present day, July 25th, 1754, be it known that the reason of it is the discontinuing quarter meetings from that day to this."

Unassisted by the circuit book I must endeavour to trace the history of the round, or more correctly the men who laboured in it, from such notices of them and their

proceedings as are to be found in the miscellaneous records of the period. Grimshaw was working like a giant to spread the gospel; ever enlarging his circuit, and building up the infant churches raised, instrumentally, by himself and the early lay preachers. It is quite natural, because of the peculiarities of Grimshaw's procedure, that the general impression respecting him should be, that he was merely an eccentric clergyman, useful as a revivalist during his lifetime, but one who may now with advantage be left to the oblivion of the past. Fuller information however shows that he was emphatically a practical saint of the highest order, and that Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the northern counties, owe to him an immense debt of gratitude for the unwearied diligence with which he pursued his evangelistic labours, and watched over the multiplying churches.

The Rev. John Newton says, "As his hearers were chiefly of the poorer and unlettered class, he chose to deliver his sentiments in what he used to term *market language*; and though the warmth of his heart, and the rapidity of his imagination, might sometimes lead him to clothe his thoughts in words, which even a candid critic could not wholly justify, yet the general effect of his plain manner was striking and impressive, suited to make the dullest understand, and to fix for the time the attention of the most careless. Frequently a sentence, which a critical hearer might judge quaint or vulgar, conveyed an important truth to the ear, and fixed it in the memory for years after the rest of the sermon, and the general subject were forgotten. Though he had a singular felicity in bringing down the great truths of the gospel to a level with the meanest capacity, he did not degrade them. The solemnity of his manner; the energy with which he spoke; the spirit of love which beamed in his eyes, and breathed through his addresses, were convincing proofs that he did not trifle with his people. I may give my judgment upon this point, something in his own way, by quoting a plain and homely proverb, 'It is the best cat which catches the most mice.' His improprieties, if he was justly chargeable with any, are easily avoided; but very few ministers have had equal success."

In this year, 1749, the Haworth round was again visited by Whitefield. He writes to Grimshaw, March 17th, in a style which, from its familiarity, indicates that they kept each other informed respecting the work of God. "Thanks be to the Lord Jesus, that the work flourishes with you! I am glad your children grow so fast; they become fathers too soon; I wish some may not prove dwarfs at last. A word to the wise is sufficient. I have always found awakening times like spring times; many blossoms, but not always so much fruit.

But go on, my dear man, and, in the strength of the Lord, you shall do valiantly. I long to be your way, but I suppose it will be two months first." In one of his visits to Yorkshire this year, Ingham and Batty accompanied Whitefield throughout the county, and occasionally preached with him. Lady Huntingdon also formed one of the party. It must have been on the autumn visit, as Whitefield describes his earlier tour to the Countess in writing, which indicates that she was not then of the party.

On September 29th, Whitefield writes from Newcastle, giving an account of his visit to Haworth. "I have had many proofs that God's providence directed my way into Yorkshire. I preached four times at Aberford (the home of Mr. Ingham), four times at Leeds, and three at Haworth, where lives our Mr. Grimshaw. At his church I believe we had above a thousand communicants, and in the churchyard, about six thousand hearers. It was a great day of the Son of Man."

In another letter of October 1st to Lady Huntingdon, he says, "The sacramental occasion was most awful."

In October Whitefield again ministered within the boundaries of the Haworth circuit. At Halifax, Rochdale, and Ewood he preached to many thousands. A temporary booth was erected in a field at Ewood, for the accommodation of the ministers who attended. The meadow and the woodland above were crowded with people collected from all the country around, and when the doxology was sung at the close of the service, the effect of the voice of the multitude, echoing from hill to hill, was indescribably impressive.

Ewood Hall was the ancient home of the Farrars. From a house near this mansion Grimshaw married his first wife, and here he must frequently have resided, a number of his letters being dated from this place. The Hall still stands, overlooking what must have been a charming valley, through which a pure river would then flow. The old house, tenanted by the Grimshaws, has disappeared. The unwearied diligence of Grimshaw is evidenced in the fact that he was accustomed to go to a place near Hebden Bridge (probably Ewood) on the Saturday night, and preach, and again early on Sunday morning, returning to Haworth in time for service in his own church. At the place referred to lived a stone-mason, who attended preaching almost as regularly as Grimshaw himself, and being a good singer stood before him ready to raise the tune and conduct the singing. It happened that on one of these occasions the mason was absent, and the singing did not proceed as usual. After the service, Grimshaw was grieved to learn that the man in question had given way to a former sin, and was then

in bed, intoxicated. Next morning Grimshaw took his usual place and was about to begin the service. The mason was also there, ready to do as he was wont. Grimshaw gave out :

"Come ye that love the Lord,

And let your joys be known " ;

at the same time extending his arm and shaking his clenched fist in the face of the man, said in broad Yorkshire, "Sing if ta dare!" It is needless to add, the poor fellow was nonplussed and silenced. What further effect the reproof had is not known.

In the Minutes of 1747 Wm. Shent is named as assisting the Wesleys "chiefly in one place." Many in that list became travelling preachers. but Shent, probably because he was married and had a family and business, does not appear to have left Leeds. He is, however, an instance of a located preacher appointed to the charge of what was practically a district, covering Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. We find mention of him at Sykehouse, near Doncaster, and Barley Hall, near Sheffield, proving that he was actively engaged in the work of God over a wide area.

At home he had a large share in the creation of the first Methodist Chapel in Leeds, the celebrated Boggart House, toward which he gave, or begged, £200. We catch a glimpse of Shent in Haworth, which he had probably visited in the fulfilment of his duties as a preacher in the round. He had been preaching in Grimshaw's kitchen. When he finished, the fervent vicar fell down before him and said, "I am not worthy to stand in your presence." This act may prove more than the humility of Grimshaw. It may have been prompted by admiration for the ability and zeal of the preacher, in whom there must have been superior qualities rendering him fit, in Wesley's estimation, to take the superintendence of so wide and important a district as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. We have also Grimshaw's testimony to the worth of Shent in a letter to Dr. Gillies, of Glasgow, July 19th, 1754. "Soon after John Nelson was admitted into connection with the Wesleys', the Lord raised up a very useful labourer, one William Shent, in Leeds, whose labours He hath greatly, and still, I hope, greatly owns and blesses. By this man, and other assistants, the work has wonderfully flourished ever since, not only in Leeds, but in various other towns and villages around it,—Seacroft, Hunslet, Rodwell, Oulton, Ardsley, Ridsey, Bramley, Calverley, Yeadon, &c."

From the journals of Charles Wesley we find that William Shent was sent by him in August, 1751, to Musselborough in Scotland, in fulfilment of a promise given by John Wesley.

This is evidence that Wesley considered him, at that time, a preacher of power and judgment. It is, however, sad to be compelled to state, that after being a member of society for thirty-six years, and a preacher for thirty-two years. Shent fell into intemperance and was expelled from the society. His business declined, and with a large family dependent upon him, his circumstances became very distressing. Wesley did not desert his fallen assistant. He wrote two powerful letters to the societies of Leeds and Keighley, which show how deep must have been the regard and sorrow which he felt. I give the Keighley letter which is dated :—

“London, January 11th, 1779.

I have a few questions which I desire may be proposed to the society at Keighley.

Who was the occasion of the Methodist preachers first setting foot in Leeds? Wm. Shent.

Who received John Nelson into his house at his first coming thither? Wm. Shent.

Who was it that invited me and received me when I came? Wm. Shent.

Who was it that stood by me while I preached in the streets, with stones flying by on every side? Wm. Shent.

Who was it that bore the storm of persecution for the whole town, and stemmed it at the peril of his life? Wm. Shent.

Whose word did God bless for many years in an eminent manner? Wm. Shent's.

By whom were many children now in paradise begotten to the Lord, and many now alive? Wm. Shent.

Who is it that is ready now to be broken up and turned into the street? Wm. Shent.

And does nobody care for this? William Shent fell into sin, and was publicly expelled the society; but must he be starved? Must he with his grey hairs and all his children be without a place to lay his head? Can you suffer this? Oh! tell it not in Gath. Where is gratitude? Where is compassion? Where is Christianity? Where is humanity? Where is concern for the cause of God? Who is a wise man among you? Who is concerned for the Gospel? Who has put on bowels of mercy? Let him arise and assert himself in this matter. You here all arise as one man, and roll away the reproach. Let us set him on his feet once more; it may save both him and his family. But what we do let it be done quickly.

I am, dear brethren,

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.”

In the letter to the Leeds society Mr. Wesley proposed to share equally with any members of it in raising a sum of £150 for the re-establishment of Shent. The appeal was not sufficiently responded to, and Wesley, after visiting Leeds, and making enquiries on the spot, sent him to London, where he was employed in some capacity in the Book Room, until his health failed, when he returned to Leeds. It is grievous that there should have been something like an eclipse of this once burning and shining light. He died in November, 1787. His case is full of warning that eminent piety, bravery, and usefulness, must be accompanied by prayerful watchfulness, if sin in the flesh is to be slain.

John Bennet appears to have been labouring in at least part of the Keighley circuit in the year 1749, for at his request Wesley visited Rochdale. His home was at Bank House, near Rochdale, a place which several times appears in the circuit book, and was the residence of a Mr. Healey, the ancestor of a family distinguished in Liverpool Methodism. He says, "As soon as we entered the town, we found the streets lined on both sides with multitudes of people, shouting, cursing, blaspheming, and gnashing upon us with their teeth. Perceiving it would not be practicable to preach abroad, I went into a large room, open to the street, and called aloud, 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts.' The word of God prevailed over the fierceness of man. None opposed or interrupted, and there was a very remarkable change in the behaviour of the people as we afterwards went through the town."

God was at that time raising up several lay preachers, who by their zeal and courage, and constancy through life, gave clear proof of their call to this ministry. His direct operation is conspicuous in each case, and we find them successively coming under, first, the influence of Grimshaw, and then of Wesley, and laying broad and deep the foundations of those societies in Yorkshire and Lancashire which have been an incalculable blessing to thousands of the people.

One of these was Thomas Lee, who was born in June — 1727, in a small village in the parish of Keighley. In the lives of the old Methodist preachers, 1717 is given as the date of Lee's birth. This however is an error of ten years, as the Keighley parish register proves. The correct date, 1727, harmonises all the chronological allusions in Lee's autobiography, and enables us to ascertain the period when Methodism was first introduced into various localities. His mother died when he was four years old, and an uncle in

Addingham took charge of the lad. During childhood he was carefully restrained from outward sin, and in the days of early youth felt the powerful operation of the Divine Spirit. He found much delight in prayer, and had many inward consolations, though he had never heard anyone speak of the comfort of the Holy Ghost. But having no one to speak to about these things, his impressions gradually died away.

He says that during this time he now and then heard Grimshaw, and afterwards some of the early Methodist preachers, probably Maskew, Greenwood, or Darney, and under them was gradually enlightened, and resolved to cast in his lot with them. I think from this and other circumstances, that the period of his apprenticeship to some form of woollen manufacture must have been elsewhere than Addingham, as we have no evidence that Grimshaw, or his preachers, went there so early as this. Before the light of God clearly shone upon his soul, he received the call to preach. He says, "As I was one night on my knees groaning before the Lord, those words were powerfully applied to my soul, 'Thou shalt bear my name before much people.' And this impression never after left my mind long together, which often constrained me to hope that the Lord would some time help me." He instituted family prayer in his master's house, and was desired to pray in another family which he did several times. God blessed these works meet for repentance, and Lee says, "I had now more hope; and one day being alone a great part of the day and much engaged in meditation and prayer, I found a persuasion that God was willing to receive me. I left my business immediately and went to prayer. In a moment God broke in upon my soul in so wonderful a manner that I could no longer doubt of His forgiving love. I cried, 'My Lord and my God!' And in the spirit I was then in, I could have praised, and loved, and waited to all eternity."

In the case of Lee we have one of the earliest notices of prayer meetings. He tells us that he attended, and soon after conducted them, and there began to exhort. This led to wider invitations which displeased his employer, who offered to the godly apprentice the use of his house. Then he spoke to still larger gatherings. He says, "I frequently consulted my dear friend, Mr. Grimshaw, who strongly exhorted me not to be faint or weary, but to go on valiantly in the work to which God had called me." Lee's apprenticeship must have terminated in the year 1748. Beginning to work for himself, —where at first we know not,—he also wrought for God. He tells us that he was invited to go to Harden Moor, Lingbob,

near Wilsden, and Thornton, above Bradford. He was determined to test his work by the result of it on virgin ground. He says, "As there were places where no one had preached yet, I thought if God would own me here, and raise up a people for himself, I shall know that He hath sent me. He did so; many found peace with God, and a society was raised at each place."

We now get definite information respecting Lee's place of residence. The inference is that his home had been somewhere between Harden and Thornton, for he tells us that he delivered the societies he had raised in Harden, Lingbob, and Thornton, to the care of the travelling preachers, and removed to Long Addingham, the abode of his childhood. There he preached, and "God was pleased to set to His seal and a society was quickly started. Many sinners were convinced, and several were truly converted to God. . . . During all this time," says Lee, "I wrought exceedingly hard at my own business when I was at home; but the going up and down to preach frequently took up more than half my time."

This earnest-spirited man, yearning for the unenlightened, carried the gospel across the valley of the Wharfe to the scattered population upon Greenhow Hill, now in the Pateley Bridge circuit. Hartwith, in Nidderdale, distant twelve miles at least from Addingham, and other places, were visited; and he says, "at each of which it pleased God to raise up a people for Himself." We may take it therefore that in 1748, or 1749, Methodism sprung up both in Wharfedale and Nidderdale, though the names of the places in those localities do not appear upon the circuit book until the year 1762. Lee goes on to say that after he had preached some time at Greenhow Hill, he was invited to Pateley Bridge, probably about 1751. "Here," he says, "I was called to an exercise of my faith which I had not hitherto known. The first time I was here, Mr. — had prepared and encouraged a numerous mob, who spared neither mud nor stones, with many strokes besides, so that they themselves owned, 'We have done enough to make an end of him.' I did, indeed reel to and fro, and my head was broken with a stone. But I never found my soul more happy, nor was ever more composed in my closet. It was a glorious time; and there are several who date their conversion from that day. After I was a little cleaned, I went to a neighbouring town, where, when my head was dressed, I preached abroad to abundance of people, many of whom had followed me from Pateley Bridge. Some of the mob also followed; but as the wretched minister was not present to head them, and as they were greatly out-

numbered, they behaved peaceably; and the Lord blessed us much."

"Having now laboured here four years," (which clearly proves that he began to evangelise immediately after he was loosed from his apprenticeship in 1748), "and travelled generally on foot, having been often thoroughly wet, and obliged to keep on my wet clothes all day, and having frequently, when at home, worked at night, that I might not be burdensome to any; I found I was not so strong as formerly. And the number of places still increasing, I was obliged, though much against my will, to give up business and buy a horse. Mr. Grimshaw now sent me into his circuit for a month, sending another preacher in my place. Then I returned and spent a considerable time together among the new societies."

Leaving Lee for the present, I direct attention to the preacher probably sent to take charge of his societies. Thomas Mitchell was born in the parish of Bingley, December 3rd, 1726. In childhood the Holy Spirit strove with him and caused him oftentimes to pray for mercy. Though he had no one to teach him, yet he had the fear of God in his heart. At fourteen he was bound apprentice to a mason. In the year 1745, he enlisted in the army during the Scottish Rebellion and served about a year, being under conviction frequently during that time. In 1746 he joined the Methodists, and heard John Nelson several times. Under Grimshaw and Charles Wesley he got further light. In reference to the preaching of the latter, he says, "When he told us we might know our sins forgiven in this life, yea, this very moment, it seemed to me new doctrine, and I could not believe it at all. But I continued in prayer, and in a few days I was convinced of it, to my great joy. The love of Christ broke into my soul and drove away all guilt and fear, and at the same time filled my heart with love both to God and man."

He must then have been living in or near Bradford, for he says that John Wesley joined several, himself among them, in a class which met about a mile from the town; "But," he says, "all of them fell back and left me alone; yet afterwards some of them returned." It is natural to infer from this statement that he was the leader, and if so, the first in the Bradford society.

Mitchell removed to Keighley, and afterwards, heard, and profited under, the ministrations of Grimshaw. After a season of special blessing he felt a strong desire to tell others what God had done for his soul, and at length ventured to give notice of a preaching service. He says, "When the time came my soul was bowed down within

me; I had many to hear me: some of them heard with pain, as my gifts were very small, and advised me to speak no more in public. But one young woman was convinced of her lost condition, and never rested till she found redemption. But this did not satisfy my friends. So, as they were not willing to receive me, I went to those that would, and God began to bless my weak endeavours. Being now employed at Sir Walter Coverley's, in the parish of Guiseley, I met a few serious people at Yeadon. They were just setting out in the ways of God and desired me to give a word of exhortation among them. I did so a few times, and God was pleased to bless it to these souls. The little society increased, and they all dearly loved one another. But Satan was not idle. Every time we met a riotous mob gathered round the house, and disturbed us much."

There appears to have been some plan of appointments in existence for the lay preachers, even in those early years of Methodist history; for after describing visits of Darney and Maskew to Yeadon, and attacks upon them by the mob, led by the curate of Guiseley, Mitchell says, "It was my turn to go next. No sooner was I at the town than the mob came like so many roaring lions. My friends advised me not to preach that night, and undertook to carry me out of the town. But the mob followed me in a great rage, and stoned me for nearly two miles, so that it was several weeks before I got well of the bruises I then received."

The clergyman who incited to these riots was probably the Rev. Hy. Wickham, who, in 1745, signed a warrant for the apprehension and committal to York Castle of Jonathan Reeves, in Keighley, as a spy and dangerous person. Mitchell goes on to say, "I stayed some time after in these parts and was fully employed. All the day I wrought diligently at my business; in the evenings I called sinners to repentance. And now the mobs were not so furious, so that we had no considerable interruption. In the meantime I waited to see whether the Lord had anything for me to do. I made it matter of continual prayer that He would make my way plain before me. And in a little while I had much more of the best work upon my hands. I was desired to give an exhortation at a village called Hartwith. I went thither several times. Several here were deeply convinced of sin, and two or three soon found redemption in the blood of Jesus, the forgiveness of sin." This was about the time that Lee was taken from his new societies to minister in Grimshaw's circuit, and Mitchell evidently now began to itinerate, with Grimshaw's sanction and encouragement, and several times preached in Hartwith, one of the places opened by Lee.

Some of his early itinerant experiences were very rough and peculiar. "In Heptonstall," he says, "I met with a lively people, who received me very kindly. I gave several exhortations among them, and the word went with power to many hearts. Among others, a very tall man, who was a butcher, was cut to the heart. But it had a very bad effect upon him for the present, for he went home and beat his wife in a most terrible manner, because he thought she had told me of all his sinful ways. But afterwards he was convinced and converted. I continued some time in these parts and went to several places in Lancashire. Here also I found many were awakened, and several found peace with God while I was among them. I endeavoured to form a regular circuit in these parts, and in a little time gained my point."

This is an important statement, and raises the enquiry whether Mitchell was not the pioneer Methodist preacher in Burnley, Laund, Higham, Simonstone, Padifam and Dunnockshaw, which all appear upon the circuit book soon after entries are resumed. Previous to this time the entries are all north or south of this imaginary circuit. Grimshaw and Wesley, Nelson and Jane, we know, had to do actively with the evangelisation of Colne and Roughlee, to which there was a good road from Haworth. Darney's circuit lay in Rossendale and the district from thence to Halifax so that this intermediate tract of country, at the time of Mitchell's visit, might be unbroken ground, and the sentence he pens be the first record of its Methodist history. It was accessible from Heptonstall by an old road crossing the hills at Stapleton Cross. A wide tract it appears to us, but to men like Darney, Lee, Mitchell, and especially Grimshaw, it would seem a comparatively small circuit. The conjecture is strengthened by the fact that in the letter of Grimshaw to Gillies, relating the progress of the work of God in the north, he does not name the places I have given, but others north and south, connecting Darney's name with them under the year 1746.

Mitchell goes on to say, "I continued here some time, and have reason to hope that I was useful among them. In one place I met with a mob of women, who put me into a pond of water, which took me nearly over my head. But by the blessing of God I got out safe and walked about three miles in my wet clothes, but I caught no cold."

In the Todmorden book there are the following entries, which determine the time of Mitchell's residence in the Haworth round:—

"Nov. 6, 1750, To Major Marshall for Thos.

Mitchell—Night 1/-

Jany. 30, 1751, Thos. Mitchell—Waistcoat ... 10/8

Feb. 5, 1751, Thos. Mitchell, noon (dinner) ... 6d.

Grimshaw was the director and encourager of this circuit-former, for Mitchell says, "I continued some time in these parts, encouraged by the example and advice of good Mr. Grimshaw. One time Paul Greenwood and I called at his house together, and he gave us a very warm exhortation, which I shall not soon forget. He said, 'If you are sent of God to preach the gospel, all hell will be up in arms against you. Prepare for the battle and stand firm in the good ways of God. Indeed you must not expect to gain much of this world's goods by preaching the gospel. What you get must come through the devil's teeth, and he will hold it as fast as he can. I count every covetous man to be one of the devil's teeth. And he will let nothing go for God and His cause but what is forced from him.'" All these events took place between the years 1748 and 1751, for in that year Mitchell was stationed in Lincolnshire, and for a time his connection with the Keighley circuit ceased.

We must return to Thomas Lee, who was again in the circuit he had formed in the eastern part of the round. He tells us, "In the year 1752, and during the winter following, the work of God prospered exceedingly, but persecution raged on every side. The malice of the devil was chiefly levelled against me, and I was the first that disturbed his servants in these parts. So that wherever I went I was in much danger, carrying, as it were, my life in my hand.

One day, as I was going through Pateley, the captain of the mob, who was kept in constant pay, pursued me and pulled me off my horse. The mob then soon collected about me, and one or another struck up my heels (I believe more than twenty times) upon the stones. They then dragged me into the house by the hair of the head, then pushed me back, with one or two upon me, and threw me with the small of my back upon the edge of the stone steps. This nearly broke my back, and it was not well for many years after. Thence they dragged me to the common sewer. They rolled me in for some time; then dragged me to the bridge and threw me into the water. They had me mostly on the ground, my strength being quite spent."

These early Methodist heroes were indeed treated as "the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things," and thus veritably in the apostolic succession (I. Cor., iv. 9-13).

"My wife, with some friends, now came up. Seeing her busy about me, some asked, 'What, are you a

Methodist?’ and gave her several blows, which made her bleed at the mouth, and swore they would put her into the river. All the time I lay upon the ground, the mob being undetermined what to do. Some cried out, ‘Make an end of him!’ Others were for sparing my life; but the dispute was cut short by their agreeing to put some others into the water. So they took them away, leaving me and my wife together. She endeavoured to raise me up, but having no strength, I dropped down to the ground again. She got me up again, and supported me about a hundred yards; then I was set on horseback and made a shift to ride softly as far as Michael Granger’s house. Here I was stripped from head to foot and was washed. I left my wet clothes here and rode to Greenough Hill, where many were waiting for me, and though much bruised, and very weak, preached a short sermon from Psalm xxxiv., 19. ‘Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all.’ The next morning I preached again. Afterwards several accompanied me a by-way to North Pasture. There were many serious hearers, but the captain of the mob came and made some disturbance, and then with a great stick broke every pane of glass in a large window. This made a little confusion at first, but afterwards the Lord poured down His blessing in an uncommon manner, Almost all were in tears, and the people took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. Thence we rode to Hartwith, where we had peace, and the power of the Lord was with us. But when the work of the day was over, I was so bruised and sore that I was obliged to be undressed by another.

“ This summer, autumn, and winter, were times of hot persecution. Our friends frequently suffered when they went upon business to Pateley Bridge. Their clothes were spoiled, and their persons much abused. They applied for justice to the Dean of Ripon, but found none. But what made amends was, we loved each other dearly, and had exceedingly comfortable seasons together.

In January, 1753, I was invited to preach about a mile from Pateley. When I came the mob was gathered. However, in the name of the Lord, I began; and though they blasphemed horribly and broke the windows, I was not interrupted or discomposed, but prayed, preached, and concluded in peace. As soon as I had ended they became outrageous. I retired into a chamber and gave myself to prayer. While I was on my knees, one came and informed me the mob had forced into the house and would soon be in the chamber; but that I must get out at the window, and there were some friends below who would catch me as I fell. In a while, being

desired to preach there again, I fixed it in the day time, thinking the mob would not leave their work to disturb us. But they soon came and surrounded the house, so that I could not preach at all. After I had been kept prisoner for several hours, I was obliged to run for my life.

About the same time I was invited to Garthit Hall, where I preached in the open-air with little interruption; but when I went again, the Pateley Bridge mob came, though the floods were out. When I began to preach they were more and more violent, till I was forced to desist and retire. Being resolved I should not escape again, they surrounded the house till near sunset. Then they ran to beat one of the people. Our friends snatched the opportunity and brought me a horse, which I immediately mounted. The mob, seeing this, left him and pursued me. But again God delivered me out of their hands."

Riding to escape the mob, who had taken possession of the bridge, he says, "It being very dark we lost our way upon the moors. We wandered till we were thoroughly beat with snow and rain, but late at night found our way to Thomas Lupton's. The congregation had waited for several hours, being much troubled for fear I was killed. I changed my clothes, and though it was late, preached to them as the Lord enabled me. It seemed to us little less than heaven, and though it was a hard day it was a blessed day to my soul. I remember once during these seasons of trouble, wherein my life continually hung in suspense, a thought came into my mind, 'It is hard to have no respite, to be thus perpetually suffering.' Immediately it was impressed upon my mind, 'Did you not, when you was upon the borders of despair, promise the Lord that if He would give you an assurance of His favour, you would count no suffering, sorrow, or affliction, too great to be endured for His name's sake?' This at once silenced all murmuring, and thenceforth I bore whatever befel me with patience, and often with joy: finding a willingness to bear it, as long as He saw meet, if it were to the end of my life."

In the year 1756 Thomas Lee had thirteen or fourteen places where he preached regularly, and he quite intended to spend his life among them. Grimshaw, however, mentioned him to Wesley, who asked Lee to become a travelling preacher. In reply he said "Yes, if Mr. Grimshaw will supply my places." This Mr. Grimshaw promised to do.

Lee's first circuit was Leeds, extending beyond Sheffield into Derbyshire in the south, to Hull in the East, and far into the North Riding. His second circuit was the whole of Lincolnshire.

To encourage Lee in these wide and hard rounds, Grimshaw wrote him on July 21st, 1757, "I hope your love abides in full strength, and that you can preach twenty times a week. If you can preach oftener, do. Preaching, is health, food, and physic to me; and why not to thee, my brother? Besides, Tommy, there is very great need of preaching now. For iniquity aboundeth, the love of many grows cold, and God's judgments are out in the earth. Tommy, let us preach four times a day, or thirty times a week, whether you please, or can bear better. It will be all little enough. Our Master well deserves it; yea, and infinitely more. O that we may spend and be spent in preaching His everlasting gospel, in converting sinners and confirming believers."

In the same letter Grimshaw says, "It is about two years since I wrote to you. How fast does time slide away! My long silence, however, has not been owing to any disrespect that I have for you, God knoweth, but to neglect of writing, chiefly, for which I must beg your pardon. My heart is as cordially kind to you as ever, if not more so. I respect sincerely your soul, your body, your doctrine, your labour, your conduct, &c. What can I do more, Tommy? You will remember me kindly to Rebecca, but especially, kindly remember me at the footstool of grace. I have done so daily for you above two years. May the Lord bless you, yours, and your labours! Pray, therefore, for me, and I will pray for thee, being your affectionate
W.G."

Lee's personal narrative was written in the year 1779, and the concluding sentences of it show that the same spirit of indomitable faith still breathed in the heart of the old soldier of Jesus Christ. "Thus have I given you a few imperfect hints of the manner wherein our Lord has dealt with me. My whole life, particularly since I have known something of the saving power of religion, has been attended all along with manifold trials, a thousand times more than I have related; yet has the Lord been exceedingly gracious to me, the most unworthy of all His people. If I this moment saw all the sufferings I have had for His name's sake; if they were now spread before me, I would say, 'Lord, if thou wilt give me strength, I will now begin again, and thou shalt add to them lions' dens and fiery furnaces, and by Thy grace I will go through them all.' My life, though attended with many crosses, has been a life of mercies."

He preached the gospel he had embraced to the close of his life, in 1786. The Sunday before he died he went to the preaching-house on crutches, and preached twice, sitting. His first text was, "All flesh is grass, and the glory thereof is as

the flower of the grass, &c." His last text was, " Surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear the Lord, &c." In the sermon he said, " Perhaps this will be my last sermon "; and as if he saw his end was near he gave out a funeral hymn. When he came to those words,

By faith we already behold
That lovely Jerusalem here;
Her walls are of jasper and gold,
As crystal her buildings are clear,

he seemed to be quite transported at the thought of meeting Jesus. The evening before he died, he expressed great resignation to the will of the Lord, though, as he said, the pains drank up his spirits. He said, " I am the Lord's, and I feel that I am united to Him; and I know that I shall be with Him for ever!"

Wesley, recording the death of Thomas Lee, in 1787, justly calls him " A faithful brother, and a good old soldier of Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER XI.

IN September, 1749, Whitefield preached thrice at Haworth. In a letter to a Mr. N., of Glasgow, he says, "At Haworth I met with William Davy (Darney) who has since been imprisoned for preaching. Though he is seemingly unqualified, yet I meet with many that date their awakening from their first hearing him. What shall we say to these things? Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in Thy sight! I think he belongs to our Lord's family, and therefore what is done for Him, He will take as done to Himself."*

The somewhat unfavourable opinion of Darney expressed by Whitefield was shared by Charles Wesley, as the following extracts from his journal will show. During his stay in Leeds, in 1751, he held a conference of preachers. It was the practice of both the brothers Wesley to send personal invitations to those whose presence they desired at the early conferences.† For some reason Darney was not invited, and although he came was not admitted. Mr. C. Wesley says, "Sept. 11th, 1751—Mr. Grimshaw came, and soon after Mr. Milner. At ten we began our conference, at which were present, John Nelson, Wm. Shent, Christopher Hopper, Thomas Colbeck (of Keighley), Jonathan Reeves, John Bennet, Paul Greenwood (of Haworth), Michael Fenwick, Titus Knight, from Halifax, Robt. Swindells, and Mathew Watson. All these I had invited and given them notes. Webb and Tratham came afterwards, but were not admitted. Brother Mortimer, also, and William Darney, whom I appointed to talk with before we met again in the afternoon. Had any one asked me the end of our Conference, I could not have told them; only that I came to make observations, and get acquainted with the preachers, and see if God had anything to do with us or by us. After prayer (in which I found much of the presence of God) I began, without design, to speak of the qualifications, work, and trials, of a preacher; and what I thought requisite in men who act in concert. As to the preliminaries and principles, we all agreed. This conversation lasted till one. At three we met again. But first I talked to Mortimer, whom I admitted; and to Darney, whom I rejected. Two hours more was spent in friendly, profit-

* Everett's Manchester, p. 128.

† Wesley's Works, 8-312.

able conference. I told them my heart, freely and fully, concerning the work of the workmen. We parted in the spirit of love."

At Ewood, on September 16th, Charles Wesley took leave of his friend Grimshaw, and of W. Shent, of Leeds, and of Darney; giving written instructions, that unless Darney would abstain from railing, begging, and printing nonsense, he should not be allowed to preach in any of the Methodist societies and meeting houses. William Shent was charged with the execution of this order. The indulgence conceded to Darney, with these limitations, was granted solely at the instance of Grimshaw, to whom it was difficult to deny anything.

It is evident from the remarks of the Rev. T. Jackson, that about the time of this Conference in Leeds, some of the preachers had embraced and were disseminating Calvinistic doctrines. Darney held similar views, which may—until he came in contact with other preachers of like mind,—have been kept in abeyance by the all-absorbing work of awakening sinners. As to the charge of begging, some excuse may be found in the fact that Darney had a wife, and perhaps a family, to maintain, and no fixed stipend with which to do it. It was not until that year (1752) that the magnificent sum of £12 per annum was ordered by Conference to be paid to the preachers, in order that they might provide themselves with necessaries. Not until 1757 was any fixed allowance made to preachers' wives. In that year £10 per annum was all that the circuits were considered to have power to provide. Articles of clothing were occasionally paid for out of the circuit funds, and Darney might be thought too importunate in asking for them, and complained of for it. I have already stated that Darney composed hymns. This year he went the length of printing. His book is entitled:

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS

BY

WILLIAM DARNEY,
in four parts.

Leeds, Printed by James Lister, 1751.

PART I.

Praise ye the Lord, etc. Psalm cxxxv., 1-3.

To men of such correct poetic taste as the Wesleys, these hymns must have been specially distasteful. The preface to the book reflected upon the poetry of the Wesleys as too high in sentiment and diction for the people of the northern circuits. No wonder, therefore, that the brothers Wesley greatly disliked

Darney's action in thrusting such a book upon these poor societies: hence the following Conference order: "Sing no hymns of your own composing. Print nothing without my approbation." We are very glad, however, that Darney had printed before this direction was given, because in a hymn of one hundred and four verses on the progress of Methodism, we have information which amply atones for the doggerel, as it indicates what places had been reached at that time, and what was their condition.

In the year 1752 we catch a glimpse of Darney in the northern part of the vast Leeds circuit, in which he was then stationed. He had evidently been labouring in the dales of the North Riding, for among his hymns is one entitled, "A Hymn first made for the little Societies in the north of Yorkshire." There is also an entry concerning him in an old society book kept at Osmotherly, an ancient village in the North Riding of Yorkshire, about six miles from North-allerton. He alone of the Methodist preachers who visited it appears to have excited the ire of the inhabitants, for after preaching in the village he was seized by a mob, who proceeded to daub him with tar, and ornament him with feathers. He does not however seem to have suffered any bodily injury. Knowing the lion-heartedness of the Rev W. Grimshaw, he must have brought him to this part of the great Leeds circuit, for under the date of July 19th, 1752, there is this entry in the society book of Osmotherly. "For Wm. Grimshaw and Wm. Darney, 1/3." This was the sum paid for their entertainment, or given for travelling expenses. There are records of a similar kind in other places, from which we learn that Grimshaw occasionally visited the romantic dales and fells of North Yorkshire; but to what distance his visits extended in that direction, neither tradition nor history enables us to state with certainty.*

Though Darney was travelling in the Leeds circuit in 1752, there are two entries respecting him in the old society book, Todmorden. "April 20th, 1752, William Darney, foreside of his waistcoat, 7s. April 20th, 1752, trimming for his coat, 9/11½." Is it not possible that these were repairs rendered necessary by the rough treatment at Osmotherly, and obtained for him through his steadfast friend the vicar of Haworth?

In 1752, when Darney was stationed in Leeds, he extended his labours as far as Coventry, for the Rev. John Butterworth, a Dissenting minister in that town, gives us very interesting information concerning him. The father of this Mr. Butterworth resided at Goodshaw, and was a blacksmith by trade. His family

* Methodist Magazine, 1847, 142, 145 and Hardy's Grimshaw, 113.

consisted of one daughter and five sons. The first time John Wesley preached in Rossendale these five young men heard him. It was in the year 1745 at five o'clock in the morning, and his text was Romans, iii. 22. The brothers determined to embrace the truth, but there being no Methodist society in Goodshaw, they united themselves with the Baptists. Four of them became ministers of the gospel, and the fifth a Methodist local preacher. The Rev. Jno. Butterworth was the father of Jos. Butterworth, Esq., M.P., who for many years held a very influential position in Methodism, and rendered distinguished service to the Connexion.

In the earlier years of Mr. Jno. Butterworth's religious life he would no doubt frequently hear Darney, and the following extract from one of his letters reveals an intimate acquaintance with the man:—"Last week we have had a great noise and hurry about the Methodists in this town. William Darney came here Saturday wassen' night, and stayed till yesterday. He was at our house several times, still behaving in his old way, ready to censure and condemn all but the Methodists. However, many have run to hear till last Sabbath day night, in which there was such furious mobbing that some were almost afraid of their lives. Some damage was done in breaking of windows, &c. The constable was sent for to suppress the mob and guard Mr. Darney to his lodgings. Some who heard him told me that he kept himself pretty consistent and clear. But I find by his conversation that he is not quit of his old principles of universal redemption. I should be glad to know in your next letter what progress the Methodists make in Rossendale, and whether they are ever likely to come to anything or not."*

Others beside Mr. Butterworth contemplated the possibility of Methodism becoming extinct in their localities, and made provision for that and other contingencies in the first chapel deeds. A deed of Lowertown, in the Keighley circuit, dated May 14th, 1805, contains the following clauses:—"The minister to be elected by the trustees. He was to preach the doctrines contained in Wesley's notes and the four volumes of sermons. They had power to mortgage or sell in case there should be no Methodist society; in which case the money arising from the sale, after paying the debt of the chapel, should be appropriated in promoting the work of God among the Methodists, without saying in what way. A similar clause is contained in the first chapel deed of Cullingworth.

Darney was the second Methodist preacher to visit Sheepshead, in Leicestershire, where he addressed a congregation

* Jessop's Rossendale, p. 46.

in the open street. He was plentifully bespattered with mud, and no one invited him to any house, or offered him the slightest refreshment.

In 1755 he was in Alnwick, where under his ministry, a considerable revival of religion took place. The wicked were roused to opposition, and, among the rest, a company of strolling players, who happened to be at Alnwick. These prepared a play against the Methodists, in which Darney and the leading members of the society were caricatured. The play, however,—though the bills were printed and circulated—for some reason unknown, was never acted. Soon after this, as Darney was riding past their temporary theatre (a barn), the players, who were lounging and basking in the sun, said, in a tone sufficiently loud for him to hear, “Here is Scotch Will; let us mob him.” On hearing this, Darney, who was a man of great size, and, when he chose, of a terrific countenance, being mounted on a very spirited horse, immediately rode up to them, and, making his horse stand upon its hinder feet, at the same time elevating his whip, said, with a voice of thunder, “Ye sons of Belial, come on!” The poor actors were terror stricken, and were thankful to atone for their insolence by individually begging pardon and promising to behave better ever after. This they were careful to do, for no one after this ventured to insult him.

One day while in this circuit, as he travelled in company with some friends, the subject of temptation was discussed. Darney said, “I don’t know what to think; for I have had no trouble from the wicked one for some time”; when suddenly his horse plunged into a bog, and threw to the ground both him and the female friend who rode on a pillion behind. Being rescued from the bog, his companions rode forward to the first farm-house in that neighbourhood and requested permission for two of their friends, who had met with an accident, to dry their clothes. Permission was readily granted; but, having arrived, Darney, instead of going near the fire, said, “Let us pray.” They all kneeled down, and he prayed. After rising from his knees, he paced the room in silence for some time, when at length he again said, “Let us pray.” After rising a second time, the farmer, addressing himself to Darney, said, “You shall not leave my house this night, for there is something in you which I never saw in any man before.” “Say you so?” said Darney; “then go and invite all your neighbours, and I will preach to them.” He did so, and the power of the Lord was manifested in the awakening of many souls. So greatly was this accident overruled for good.*

* Methodist Magazine, 1826, p. 401.

The following account is given by John Darney, the son of Wm. Darney, in a letter to the late Rev. James Everett:—
 “When my father was once preaching, in 1755, at Walmsley chapel, the enraged mob drove him into a pond of water, in the same way they would have done a beast. Also at Barrowford, the mob stripped him of his coat and took it to a dye-house, where they half dipped it in a working vat, literally making it a coat of many colours. At another time, at this place, they rode him through the deepest place of the river, which runs through the village, one of the mob riding upon his back with a bridle about his head. They then procured a rope, which they fastened about his waist, and then fastening the rope to each side of the river, they literally tied him in the middle of the stream.

“In Colne the mob stripped him of all his clothes unto his naked skin, daubed him all over with mire, and drove him through the town streets in this condition.

“A very singular occurrence took place when he was once preaching on Blackow Hill Side, which God mercifully overruled for the conversion of the chief of those sinners composing this mob. As the champion of the mob was violently attempting to pull him down from the place on which he stood to preach, he seized Darney by the cravat, which instantly broke in two, although it was a new one and went twice round his neck. When the man saw the cravat so easily torn asunder, he was struck with amazement, and this circumstance, in the hands of the Almighty Spirit, was the means of his immediate conviction of sin. He instantly desisted from further violence, and openly declared that he would lose his life in defending the preacher from the attacks of the mob. This quelled the disturbance, and Darney finished his discourse in peace. This ringleader of riot and sin dated his conversion to God from that hour; afterwards became a decided Methodist, and lived and died an eminent and exemplary Christian.

Whilst Darney was once preaching at New Church in Rossendale, he was attacked by an outrageous mob, the ringleader of which appeared infuriate for destruction. Darney attempted to reason with him on the folly and wickedness of his proceedings, but without avail. The preacher then boldly declared that if he persisted in molesting him the judgments of God would overtake him. Within two days he suddenly dropped down dead, an awful warning to persecutors.”

Having diverged to follow the careers of Lee and Darney, we must return to the year 1750, and some of the movements of the more important agents in the eighteenth century revival.

Doctrinal differences had for a time led to separation and

controversy between Whitefield and the Wesleys, but the year 1750 shows that eminent evangelist reconciled fully to the Wesleys, and not only preaching in their chapels, but also using all his great influence with the noble and powerful on behalf of their persecuted people in Cork. He says to one of them, January 28th, 1850: "On Monday your letter shall be read, and we will besiege the throne of grace once more, on our dear brethren's behalf. Surely we shall prevail. I will use all endeavours to extricate our friends out of their troubles. Enclosed you have a letter to the judge. I hope you will wait on Lord Harrington (the King's representative in Ireland) and let me hear what he says. The Duke (of Newcastle) was spoken to; and, last post, I wrote to Lady Huntingdon for the memorial, which, if sent, shall be put into the hands of some who are very near His Majesty. Some honourable women are much your friends. Jesus makes them so; and when His people are distressed, if needful, a thousand *Esthers* shall be raised up. I have now preached three times in Mr. Wesley's chapel; and each time the Lord was with us of a truth.'

The history of Whitefield and the noble Countess of Huntingdon, studied alongside the life of Wesley, shows us how blessedly the leading spirits in the mighty work of God in the eighteenth century, were really one in soul and sympathy, though so widely divided on some doctrinal questions.

Thus Whitefield, writing to Lady Huntingdon, Feb. 12th, 1750, says: "Everything I meet with seems to carry this voice with it,—'Go thou and preach the gospel. Be a pilgrim on earth. Have no party, or certain dwelling place; but be continually preparing for, and labouring to prepare others for, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' My heart echoes back, 'Lord Jesus help me to do or suffer Thy will! And when Thou seest me in danger of nestling, in pity put a thorn in my nest to preserve me from it.' "

While Grimshaw and his lay preachers were ever widening the borders of the Methodist circuit, the catholic-hearted Whitefield, in 1750, paid the centre another visit, on Whitsunday, June 3rd. Again Haworth Church was filled with communicants (almost thrice), whilst thousands upon thousands listened to the preacher's voice in the church-yard.

In connection with one of Whitefield's visits, a small boy, accompanying his father, heard him preach. That boy was the well-known and eminently useful Jonathan Saville, of Halifax. No sooner did Jonathan fix his eye upon the preacher than it became rivetted, and young as he was, no other object could divert the attention which he was thus constrained to give. Who the preacher was his father did not inform him, but the impres-

sion made by countenance, gesture, and general appearance, was so indelibly fixed upon his mind, that at the distance of sixty years from that time, on seeing a well-executed portrait of Whitefield, he immediately recognized it as the likeness of the one he heard preach in Bradford.

Jonathan Saville was born of poor, but industrious, parents, December 9th, 1759. His mother died when he was three years old, and at the age of seven he became an inmate of the poor-house. Against the entreaties and remonstrances of his poor father, he was put apprentice by the guardians, and became practically the slave of a coal owner near Denholme, a man without a spark of humanity in his nature. So heavy were his tasks that the lad would have died under them, had not the master, seeing this, caused him to be removed from the pit and placed at the spinning wheel in the house of his taskmaster.

Three or four years had thus rolled over his head, when, one winter's day, while sitting at his wheel in the passage of the house—the spot he usually occupied—he became chilled and very cold. The house, being situate on a bleak point of the hill, Jonathan might well shiver in the keenness of the northern blast. He spun the wheel with redoubled velocity, but all was of no avail. His fingers grew stiff, and, shaking with cold, he determined to risk all consequences and spend five minutes at the kitchen fire. Simple as all this may appear, it was a source of much consideration before he dare leave his work for such a purpose. While warming himself, one of his master's daughters came in. Thinking that he was neglecting his work, or prompted by the spirit of her father, she pushed Jonathan from the fire, accompanying her treatment with a heavy blow. Jonathan fell upon the floor with such violence, and in such a position, that his thigh bone was broken. For a while he lay upon the floor, trembling lest further violence should be experienced: at length, accompanied by threats and menaces from the brutal amazon, he managed to crawl with the greatest possible difficulty into an adjoining room, where he lay down on a bed, in the most excruciating pain.

Soon after Jonathan's master came home, and being told by his daughter that the lad had left his work in a fit of sulkingness and gone to bed, he went into Jonathan's room, and ordered the poor sufferer, with terrible threats, to arise and go to his work at the wheel. Jonathan's heart-rending entreaties and piteous moans were of no avail, and to use his own language, "I tumbled off the bed as well as I could." He then endeavoured to stand, with the support of a chair, but his thigh bent under him, and he fell prostrate on the ground. With

incredible inhumanity the monster seized Jonathan by the coat collar, dragged him into the passage, and forced him to sit and spin during the rest of the day. Although this cruel master knew full well the state of his charge, no surgeon was called in to set the thigh, and no attention paid the boy by any in the house; the very moans of the poor sufferer were laughed at, and had he not been blessed with a strong constitution, he must have sunk beneath the brutality heaped upon him. As he lay down at night to sleep, it was his practice to hold the bone as near in its proper place as he could imagine; but being obliged to rise early to his work, his recovery was protracted and tedious; in fact he never did properly recover, and the accident became the cause of his diminutive stature.

Thrown into Thornton workhouse by his unfeeling master, Jonathan Saville fortunately received kind attention there, and was taught to read by an old pensioner. In the house was an aged blind man, who had long expressed a desire to attend the church at Bradford, but being unable to obtain a guide, and too poor to purchase a dog, was utterly prevented. Jonathan, to his great joy, being able to walk with crutches, cheerfully volunteered to lead the blind pauper, and they thus for some time journeyed in company to the house of God.

The cripple learnt a trade, was able to earn his bread, and through the ministry of Mr. Benson found the bread of eternal life in Halifax; and then careless of the bitter frost the piercing winds, or the burning sun of summer, Jonathan was found travelling over hills and exploring valleys, calling the poor cottagers together, who lived far from any place of worship, giving them a word of exhortation, and then praying with and for them. It is not too much to say that no man living in the Halifax circuit was in labours more abundant than Jonathan Saville, even to an advanced age. Fourteen years as prayer leader, then entrusted with a society class, and in the year 1803, at the age of 43, he became a local preacher, and won esteem and veneration in that field of labour. He attained popularity at the commencement of his career, and held it for many years. Hundreds in his own and other circuits had indelible impressions produced upon their souls by the solemn admonitions, impressive cautions, and original and appropriate ideas of the erstwhile workhouse lad. On the missionary platform he spoke with acknowledged power, even as the companion of the most eminent ministers of the connexion, and his speeches were long remembered with pleasure and profit.

Some years after Saville became a preacher, he was invited to preach at Denholme on behalf of missions, and whilst there was requested to visit a sick woman. "When I got into the

house," he says, "I was taken with a fit of musing. The woman seeing me said, 'Did you once live here?' I gave a look back and inwardly exclaimed, 'What has God done for poor me!' And then I thought of my three or four years of suffering in that very house, for there it was that my thigh was broken, and I said, 'Is it possible that the Lord should have brought me to pray with that woman. O Lord, now thou hast paid me for all my suffering.' " Jonathan Saville died in 1842, aged 83 years.

Such a remarkable God-called instrument in the building of early Methodism in the old Haworth round could not be passed over in a history, the aim of which is to trace the hand of the Almighty in this particular field.

Until a recent period it was not known that letters of John Nelson were in existence. Several addressed to Charles Wesley were found among the treasures of the book room: these I had permission from the Rev. C. H. Kelly to copy. As they have not hitherto been published, and are very characteristic of that veteran evangelist, and shed light upon the history and methods of early Methodism, it is but due to his memory that they should appear, according to date, in this history.

The first is dated August 29th, 1750. John Nelson wrote to John Wesley describing three happy deaths within the Birstall round. He says of a Mr. Farrer, "He died in the 73rd year of his age. He had been a man of an unblemished character, and was looked upon by all who knew him to be one of the best Christians in that parish. He was intimate with the Minister who frequently lodged at his house, and took no small pains to prejudice him and his family against the Methodists. And he had prevailed so far, that Mr. Farrer would not come to the funeral of Mr. Ellison, although he was a near relation and his next door neighbour, because he heard that I was to preach on that occasion. But it pleased God to strike those of his family who were at the funeral, with convictions; so that his wife, two sons, and a daughter, prevailed upon him to hear for himself, as they had done. The first time he came, I was preaching upon our Lord's opening the eyes of blind Bartimaeus. When I had done, he cried out, 'I have been blind for threescore and ten years, and I knew it not; but have always thought I was right till this day.' From this time he and all his family attended the ministry of the Word at all opportunities, and he received a sense of the love of God two years before his decease, while Mr. Merrick was preaching. Since that time he was remarkably steady, full of good works, and ready to confess his former blindness on all occasions, and likewise to declare the riches of God's love to him and his

family, in all companies. He died of the gravel. He was confined about three weeks, so that I visited him several times, to the great satisfaction of my own soul. In the most racking pain he still continued to praise the Lord. At one of my visits two of his brothers were there. He declared to them, 'I have lived to old age before I was acquainted with the design of God in sending me into the world, or the reason why our blessed Lord took human nature upon him, and died upon the cross,' and added, 'The Lord called me after the eleventh hour, and has rewarded me as if I had borne the burden and heat of the day.' With tears of joy he cried out, 'What could the Lord have done more for me and my family than He hath done, for He hath not left one of us in Egyptian darkness, but hath made us all witnesses that He is a sin-forgiving God. O my brothers, seek, that ye may find Him to be such to you.'

"He desired me to preach at his funeral, and said, 'It may be a means of stirring up some to seek salvation. 'I fulfilled his request and preached upon these words, to a great multitude, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.' We certainly had a glorious time; the Lord was powerfully present. O may we all praise God for such witnesses of His mercy and love, and so copy their example, that our last end may be like their's.

"We are now building our preaching house, so that I am employed all the day in hewing stone, and at night in calling upon sinners to repent and believe the gospel.

"I am, your unworthy son in the gospel,

JOHN NELSON."

The late Mr. C. D. Hardcastle copied an entry from an old pocket Bible formerly belonging to the family of Woods, of Birstall and Tingley. The following was evidently written at the time:—"August 18th, 1750. The first text that was taken in the new building of John Nelson. Preached by Mr. Grimshaw, the fifth chapter of Ephesians and the two first verses, 'Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children, and walk in love as Christ also hath loved us, and given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour.'"

As on the 29th August, Nelson spoke of the chapel as still building, it may have been that Grimshaw visited Birstall in one of his evangelistic rounds and preached in the unfinished shell of the building. That it was opened in 1750, and not 1751, as stated in the Rev. W. W. Stamp's "Methodism in Bradford," is very probable, as in March, 1751, Nelson was at the Conference in Bristol, and after that in Scotland; and it is not likely he would leave Birstall before the completion of his chapel.

The first Methodist chapels were often monuments of intense faith and self-sacrifice on the part of those who built them. We have already seen the love of worship displayed by John Madin in going frequently from Rossendale to Haworth to hear the word of God from the lips of Grimshaw. As soon as he married he opened his home for preaching, and joyfully welcomed Grimshaw, Darney, Colbeck, and other early Methodist preachers to his table. But the house was too small, and a room afterwards hired in Bacup was unsuitable, and the purpose to build a house for God took possession of his mind.

He and two others were returning from a journey of some distance which they had undertaken to hear John Bennet preach. On their way home the subject of building a chapel became the theme of their conversation, but the difficulty was how to perform such a project with their slender means. Mr. Madin was quite a young man (about twenty-eight years of age), who, with very moderate means, had just become the tenant of a small farm in the valley. John Earnshaw, another of the trio, was probably no better circumstanced; while the third, Nicholas Slater, a very pious man, was only a poor tailor. In the course of the conversation Madin and Earnshaw engaged to give as much money between them as would purchase the chapel site, while poor Slater drew sixpence from his pocket, and in the simplicity of his heart presented it to his comrades with these words: "This is all that I have at present, but when I get more I will give it." It would be difficult to determine which of these three men displayed the most striking proof of ardent love to Christ. The ground for the first Methodist chapel in Rossendale was purchased; and the other members of the little society, eleven only in number, subscribed according to their ability. Mr. Madin, having some knowledge of building, in addition to his share of the money given for the site, agreed to perform for the chapel one hundred days' work, and also to collect money for the payment of the builders. He kept at the work until he had the joy of seeing it completed, free of debt, sometime between 1750 and 1752.

CHAPTER XII.

It has been my privilege to read a number of unpublished letters written by Grimshaw to Mrs. Gallatin, for whom he had the highest Christian regard. They so fully reveal the character of the superintendent of the Haworth round, and contain so many interesting references to persons and places in his large circuit, that I shall introduce them in full under the years when they were written. To explain who this correspondent was, it is necessary to go back a couple of years.

In 1749 we find mention in letters of Whitefield, of Captain and Mrs. Gallatin. They were residing in Manchester, and Whitefield who preached there with great power in the autumn of that year, appears to have been the instrument of their spiritual awakening; for he says, October 25th, 1749, "Mrs. Gallatin, at Manchester, goes on well, and is not ashamed to confess Him, Who, I trust, has called her out of darkness into marvellous light." On October 30th, 1749, he writes to the Countess of Huntingdon; "I forward your letter to Mrs. Gallatin, at Manchester. She seems to be quite in earnest. I conversed for about two hours with the captain and some other officers, upon the nature and necessity of the new birth. He was affected, and, I hope, the conversation was blessed." The hope was realised, for the captain and his wife showed the sincerest friendship to the Methodists to the end of life.

In the year 1751, Captain Gallatin was stationed at Musselburgh, in Scotland, and invited John Wesley to visit that place. He did so, and thus introduced Methodism into the Northern Kingdom. He was earnestly requested to stay, but only remained from the 24th to 26th of May. He however sent during the year Christopher Hopper, John Nelson, and William Shent. Hopper does not speak discouragingly of the mission he accomplished, but Nelson had quite another story to tell. Charles Wesley says, on July 21st, 1751, "I rode to Birstall, when John Nelson comforted our hearts with an account of the success of the gospel in every place where he had been preaching, except Scotland. There he has been beating the air for three weeks, and spending his strength in vain. Twice a day he preached at Musselburgh to some thousands of *mere* hearers, without converting one soul."

Again, on August 12th, Charles Wesley writes in reference probably to this mission of Nelson; "I had much discourse with a brother from Scotland, who has preached there many weeks, and not converted one soul. 'You may as well preach to the stones,' he added, 'as to the Scots.'" John Wesley did not abandon hope and effort, though he shrewdly remarked concerning the Scotch: "They hear much, know everything, and feel nothing." Whitefield thought it unwise of Wesley to attempt preaching in Scotland. He said to him, "You have no business in Scotland, for your principles are so well known, that if you spoke like an angel, none would hear you; and if they did, you would have nothing to do but to dispute with one and another from morning to night." To this Wesley gave an answer which ought to impress and guide all who desire to carry divine truth into places where it is sure to meet with opposition. He said, "If God sends me, people will hear. And I will give no provocation to dispute; for I will studiously avoid all controverted points, and keep to the fundamental truths of Christianity. And if any still begin to dispute, they may, but I will not dispute with them."

The first letter of Grimshaw to Mrs. Gallatin refers to this inroad into Scotland, and confirms the conjecture that it was Nelson to whom C. Wesley alluded.

"Haworth, August 31st, 1751.

MADAM,

Glory be to God, I have been so busied for some time in the gospel work, which flourishes wonderfully in these parts, that I have not had much leisure or thought about writing letters. Yours, therefore, which I received the favour of some time since, I hope you will excuse my not answering sooner. This morning I preached the sixtieth time since August came in. I have lately visited Derbyshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, and various parts of the county. I preached in the latter end of July in the new house (which is now finished) at Manchester. The house was full, and many out of doors. At Chester also to a numerous audience out of doors. In short we have large congregations some scores of miles round, and new doors daily opening.

"Yesterday for the first time, John Nelson came to see me since his return out of Scotland. From the relation he gives, and the sentiments my dear friend, your spouse, in his letter to John Nelson, entertains, the Scots seem averse to all overtures of the gospel, especially as made to them by our English ambassadors of the Prince of Peace. For their precious souls' sake I pray God raise up such among themselves who may preach the gospel to them in demonstration of His Spirit and

of power. And would God one thing more, that you were both well from amongst them; yea I pray God ye may bring as much life (*i.e.*, spiritual) away, as you took with you into Scotland. One thing is well, and enough you can never bless God for it; that though you have spiritual company but little, yet you have Him, I am sure, continually in your very chamber, your books, your hearts, Who will never leave you nor forsake you;—who, were you among the Turks, or Arabs, will be your guardian, and portion for ever. Nay your own house is His church, His Bethel. Glory be to God for it; where two or three, says the dear Saviour, are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them—and what they shall agree to ask it shall be done for them. 'Tis enough. These are the words, the promises of God. Keep close and constant to family prayer, I humbly beseech you, as I believe you do, and also to that of the closet. Ask what you will in faith, He heareth you. Ask for faith, for hope, for peace, for joy in the Holy Ghost, for divine love, for grace, for glory, for God. Christ gave Himself for you,—the Father also gave Him; and if so how will He not freely with Him give you all things? Yea, all things are yours, if you are Christ's. Ask and you shall have, seek and you shall find, etc. Make, with the psalmist, much of God's word. Converse much, not only with the books of orthodox, but experimental divines. Such are soul, food, and physic. They help to subdue and mortify the old man, and to quicken, enliven, and perfect the new. They are spirit and life to the soul. The less you converse with worldly and carnal men and matters, the more will you desire and delight in the mind and ways of God. For the more abstracted your mind is from earthly things, the more apt and susceptible will it be of heavenly and divine things. As on the other hand, the mind, how seriously and earnestly soever inclined once to the will and ways of God, will gradually decline therefrom, as it insensibly subsides into the things of earth and sense. May the God of all grace and truth be with you and in you both; and grant that you may so glorify Him in the Son of His love, in heart, lip, and life here, that you may sit together with Him in heavenly places in Christ Jesus hereafter. Pray for me and I will heartily pray for you. Read and apply closely 1 Cor. vi.-19, 20. 2 Cor. vi.-15, 16, 17, 18.

“ Paul Greenwood, as also William Darney, John Nelson, William Shent, John Bennet, and Christopher Hopper, are fully employed, and I trust with good success. William Darney this moment is come to my house, and desires his service to be presented to you and yours. Remember me in the most cordial manner to my dear Captain. I suppose you have

your two Manchester maids—pray tell them, I pray God bless them. Write soon. I am your much obliged and very humble servant.

WM. GRIMSHAW."

At this time we find Charles Wesley, like his brother, actively itinerating among the Yorkshire societies. He says, "September 14th, 1751, I reached Keighley by noon; preached at four to about one thousand as well-behaved hearers as I have lately seen, on whom I called with an open mouth and heart; 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!' Great life I also found in the society. September 15th, I bestowed an hour on the Leaders, a dozen steady, solid men. I left Paul Greenwood to preach, and hastened to Haworth. I never saw a church better filled; but after I had preached in the pulpit, the multitude in the church yard cried out they could not hear, and begged me to come forth. I did so, and preached on a tombstone. Between three and four thousand heard me gladly. At two I called again, to about double the number, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!' The church leads and steeple were filled with clusters of people, all still as night. If ever I preached gospel, I preached it then. The Lord take all the glory!

"I took horse immediately and followed our nimble guide, Johnnie Grimshaw, to Ewood. His father came panting after us. Sarah Perrin and her namesake met us from Birstall, and brought Mr. Shent. September 16th, I preached at nine in a convenient field, to about a thousand believers, all, or conscious unbelievers; and again at three, to about three thousand. Their spirit carried me beyond myself. Such a lively people I have not met with, so simple, loving, zealous. I could have gladly stayed to live and die with them."

"Mrs. C. Wesley took many extensive journeys with her husband, riding mostly behind him on horseback, enduring not a few inconveniences, and meeting with adventures which she was accustomed to relate, in the society of her friends, to the end of her very protracted life. In the gallery of the chapel at Leeds she found two rooms partitioned off, for the accommodation of the preachers in their regular visits to the town. In the evening they were expected to preach and meet the society, to resume their pulpit labours the next morning at five o'clock, and then pass on to their next appointment. To sleep in the chapel therefore was a convenience. When Mrs. Wesley visited Leeds, one of these rooms, to save expense, was occupied by a number of labouring men; and in going to her apartment in the evening she had to pass through the room where these weary unpolished men were sleeping. This un-

toward circumstance shocked her delicacy more than anything that she met with in her new mode of life.”*

This incident enables us to realise the kind of provision made for the itinerant preacher at that time. Visiting the old Methodist chapel in the Horsefair, Bristol, in 1892, I saw rooms provided for the same purpose. They were prophets-chambers of the plainest description.

In a letter written at the close of the year 1751, John Wesley clearly states his views on what he believed to be the right method of preaching, and its results. The letter is important in its bearing upon the preaching of to-day. It is not known to whom it was addressed.

“London, December 20th, 1751.

My Dear Friend,

I think the right method of preaching is this. At our first beginning to preach at any place, after a general declaration of the love of God to sinners, and his willingness that they should be saved, to preach the law, in the strongest, the closest, the most searching manner possible.

After more and more persons are convinced of sin, we may mix more and more of the gospel, in order to beget faith, to raise into spiritual life those whom the law hath slain. I would not advise to preach the law without the gospel, any more than the gospel without the law. Undoubtedly both should be preached in their turns; yea both at once, or both in one. All the conditional promises are instances of this. They are law and gospel mixed together.

In this manner, not only my brother and I, but Mr. Maxfield, Nelson, James Jones, Westall, and Reeves, all preached at the beginning. By this preaching, it pleased God to work those mighty effects in London, Bristol, Kingswood, Yorkshire, and Newcastle. By means of this, twenty-nine persons received remission of sins in one day at Bristol only; most of them while I was opening and enforcing our Lord’s Sermon on the Mount. In this manner John Downes, John Bennet, John Haughton, and all the other Methodists preached, till James Wheatley came among them, who never was clear, perhaps not sound, in the faith. According to his understanding was his preaching; an unconnected rhapsody of unmeaning words, like Sir John Suckling’s verses,

‘Smooth and soft as cream,

In which was neither depth nor stream.’

The change he has introduced has done great harm to David Trathem, Thomas Webb, Robert Swindells, and John Maddern; all of whom are but shadows of what they were. It has likewise done great harm to hearers as well as preachers, diffusing

*Jackson, Vol. 1-588.

among them a prejudice against the scriptural, Methodist manner of preaching Christ, so that they can no longer hear the plain old truth, with profit or pleasure, nay, hardly with patience. The 'gospel preachers,' so-called, corrupt their hearers, and they vitiate their taste. They feed them with sweatments, till the genuine wine of the Kingdom seems quite insipid to them. Meantime their appetite is destroyed, so that they can neither retain nor digest the pure milk of the word.

According to the constant observations I have made, in all parts of England and Ireland, preachers of this kind spread death, not life, among their hearers. This was the case when I went last into the North. For some time before my coming, John Downes had scarce been able to preach at all; the three others in the round were such as style themselves 'gospel preachers.' When I came to review the societies, with great expectation of finding a vast increase, I found most of them lessened by one third. Of those that remained, the far greater number in every place, were cold, weary, heartless, and dead. Such were the blessed effects of this new method of *preaching Christ*.

On the other hand, when, on my return, I took an account of the societies in Yorkshire, chiefly under the care of John Nelson, one of the *old* way, I found them all alive, strong, and vigorous of soul, believing, loving, and praising God their Saviour, and increased in number from eighteen hundred, or nineteen hundred, to upwards of three thousand. These had been continually fed with wholesome food. From the beginning they had been taught both the law and the gospel. 'God loves *you*; therefore love and obey *Him*. Christ died for *you*; therefore die to sin. Christ is risen; therefore rise in the image of God. Christ liveth evermore; therefore live to God, till you live with Him in glory!

So *we* preached; and so *you* believed. This is the scriptural way, the *Methodist* way, the true way. God grant we may never turn therefrom, to the right hand or to the left. I am my dear friend, your

Ever affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

We find John Wesley visiting Heptonstall on April 8th, 1752. He says, "We rode to Heptonstall, a little town on the round top of a very high mountain, with a steep descent on every side. I preached in a vacant place, on the brow of the hill. A captain who came from the minister's house, laboured much to divert the attention of the people, but none regarded him at all. When we went away he followed us down the hill. One took him by the hand and spoke a few words, on which he

shook like a leaf, and said, he hoped this would be a happy day for him, and that he should think more than he had done in the time past."

If anyone wishes to see an old town of the eighteenth century, let him go to Heptonstall. He will find a considerable portion of it just as Wesley saw it, and may stand in the house where Wesley was entertained. It was evidently a favourite resort of the great evangelist, for it is mentioned twenty times in his journal. On June 8th he pays another visit. Accompanied by the Rev. John Milner, of Chipping, he rode to Rough Lee, and says that he found a large, serious, and quiet congregation. "There have been no tumults since Mr White was removed. He was for some years a Popish priest. Then he called himself a Protestant, and had the living of Colne. It was his manner, first to hire and then head the mob, when they and he were tolerably drunk. But he drank himself first into a gaol, and then into his grave. In the evening I preached at Heptonstall. An attorney, who happened to be in the town, endeavoured to interrupt, relating some low, threadbare stories, with a very audible voice. But some of the people cut him short in the midst by carrying him quietly away.

"Tuesday 9th, I preached at six to abundance of people near Ewood, and with an uncommon blessing. Hence we rode to Todmorden. The minister was slowly recovering from a violent fit of palsy, with which he was struck immediately after he had been preaching a virulent sermon against the Methodists. I preached, on the side of a mountain, to a large and earnest congregation, and then went on to Miller Barn. I preached at six in the town; and I suppose all the inhabitants, young and old, were present. Nor have I often seen so large a congregation so universally and deeply affected. My lodging was not such as I should have chosen; but what providence chooses is always good. My bed was considerably underground, the room serving both for a bed-chamber and a cellar. The closeness was more troublesome at first than the coolness; but I let in a little fresh air, by breaking a pane of paper (put by way of glass) in the window; and then slept sound till the morning."

The old church of Heptonstall, roofless, and slowly falling into ruin, stands in the middle of a large graveyard. Many of those sleeping within its bounds must have heard the voice of Wesley proclaiming the gospel to the people of the town. An octagon-shaped chapel, opened by the venerable man, still serves the Methodist people as their house of prayer.

A second letter of Grimshaw to Mrs. Gallatin clearly proves that the Haworth round extended as far as Bolton, in Lanca-

shire, since he held himself responsible for expenditure on the part of the poor and feeble society in that town.

"Leeds, June 23rd, 1752.

Dear Madam,

I am busy, but I snatch a few moments to write you a short, instead of a long letter. Yours I received and with much cordial satisfaction. I'm rejoiced to discover so much, as I trust I do, of a Christian spirit in your letter. Dear Madam, keep close to our dearest Saviour, in the word and prayer, and your dear heart shall continually experience greater things than these. Draw near to me, says He, and I will draw near to you. Yea, I will be found of them that diligently seek me; and to him that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance. To such, and consequently to you, Christ is made of God, wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. I am glad to hear you have fallen into the happy acquaintance of a catholic spirited, orthodox, spiritual divine, and I trust you and your dear Captain will reap much good to your precious souls by his conversation. I purpose to write a long letter soon.

In these parts the gospel continues to flourish, glory be to God for it. All things go well at Manchester. I was there about twelve days ago. But at Bolton Mr. Bennet has lately made a great rupture upon account of some discord in principles. He has torn away sixty persons from about ninety. (Here the letter is mutilated and I must connect the parts by the general sense). There is some uneasiness between the divided parties, but God has all hearts in His hands, and I hope will bring good out of the evil. In relation to the few that still adhere to us, and in their behalf, I am a beggar to you and your friends. These few sheep are very nearly sixty pounds in debt by reason of a preaching house they are building, and not finished yet. They are not all of them worth (paper damaged) pounds. They are not able to make their creditors security for (damaged) or for many years, if even to pay the principal. I desire your benevolence, and your interest among your friends any time between now and Michaelmas. It's the first time I've turned beggar to you. And for my part I will look upon it as done to myself. For Christ Jesus' sake I beseech your best endeavours for them. My sincerest respects to my dear Captain. Pray for me and I will pray for you both. Sweet Jesus bless you. Pray excuse rambling writing. Pray write soon and often. Pray remember me to the Quarter Master's wife—I forget her name.

I'm your affectionate friend, and

Obliged Humble Servant,

W. GRIMSHAW."

From the next letter to Mrs. Gallatin it is evident that she had liberally responded to Grimshaw's appeal on behalf of Bolton:—

“Dear Mrs. Gallatin,

To-day, upon my coming out of the preaching room at Keighley, I noticed the favour of your very kind letter.

’Tis a pity my very dear friends should suffer so considerable a loss at the hand of the agent of the regiment: but the dear Saviour, in Whose hands you have reposed the care of your precious souls has only permitted this cross for a trial of your faith and patience. Therefore, patiently and thankfully bear it, and He will, someday or other as He sees best, make it redound to your benefit. He makes all things work together for the good of them that fear Him. That dear Lord Who freely delivered and gave Himself for us, how will He not freely with Himself give us all things?

“I most heartily thank you for your generous present: I must say I blame you for calling it your mite. ’Tis a very considerable token of your respect for poor, unworthy me, who am little deserving of the regard of so good a benefactor. ’Tis in my sincere conception a sufficient proof also of your love for God, and likewise of your sympathy for the exceeding poverty of our brethren at Bolton. You will, I dare say, present my grateful respects to dear Mrs. Hall, assuring her that I acknowledge myself extremely obliged to her for her kind contribution. I think it was this morning that I was wishing with myself, as I lay in bed, for nearly such a sum as your very kind benefaction and Mrs. Hall’s amount to make up a sum which I must shortly pay in the Bolton affair. Nay I was questioning with myself, and fearing lest I should not be able to advance the intended payment in time,—therefore I am now amazingly engaged in praise to God and prayer for you both, to see my uneasiness so soon and so fully removed. The Lord be praised for all HIS goodness, and may He restore tenfold into both your bosoms for the loan you have given Him; for inasmuch as you have done it to His little ones, without doubt He will approve of it as done to HIMSELF.

“Thanks be to the Lord of the vineyard, the gospel work continually spreads round about us. I have the honour from my Lord to be fully employed. Nay, I bless God, I’ve more work than I can do. To-day I have preached four times to large congregations. All hands are full, and several more are wanted. You and Mrs. Hall will praise the Lord for this. I persuade myself also that whilst the Lord is so liberally replenishing these parts, my dear Captain and you are the tender care of the same common and most gracious Benefactor, and

that you daily drink of the same waters of life freely. Sweet Jesus bless you, bless you, bless you, both with all spiritual and temporal blessings in Christ Jesus. I wish you the happiness of a speedy and prosperous march southward and heavenward. Tender my sincerest respects to my dear Captain, and please to make the same acceptable to yourself from, Madam, your unfeigned, obliged, and very humble servant. Let me not forget your maids. WM. GRIMSHAW."

Halifax also owed its first chapel largely to Mr Grimshaw. He made a liberal advance of money, which, together with a sum lent by Mr. Wm. Greenwood, of Mixenden, amounted to £300. A plot of ground, in Church Lane, was purchased of W. Prescott, Esq., of Clare Hall, and the chapel was opened in 1752. The preaching house was made over to six trustees,—Titus Knight, Thomas Dickenson, Richard Booth, Blakey Spencer, Jeremiah Swift, and John Hallowell. For a certain time the chapel was consigned to those who had advanced the money, by way of security. A small gallery was erected on one side of the chapel, and the whole formed a comfortable place of worship, measuring on the outside, fourteen yards by ten. The funds did not allow of the structure being underdrawn, which occasionally put the congregation to inconvenience. This chapel was afterwards converted into cottages, in one of which the well-known Jonathan Saville lived. On the east side of the chapel was a dwelling house, which for some time was occupied by Titus Knight. As yet a travelling preacher did not reside at Halifax, but accommodation was afforded for one, while he remained a night in the town, on his circuit round. John Hallowell lived in the house for several years, that the wants of the preacher might be properly attended to.

An heroic act connected with this chapel is worth recording. In February, 1786, about midnight, it was found to be on fire. A fire engine was brought, but owing to the violence of the flames, near approach seemed impossible. After a painful suspense of several minutes, Mr. Joseph Bramley, a woollen draper in the town, stepped forward, and seizing the hose of the fire engine, rushed into the chapel, and ascended the pulpit. A general feeling of apprehension pervaded the crowd, the roof at the east end being apparently ready to give way. Mr. Bramley, however, maintained his post and the engine was worked. Thinking he could better subdue the fire, he passed from the pulpit to the front of the side gallery, where he stood enveloped in smoke, the flames well-nigh enclosing him. A shudder passed through the crowd when at intervals they beheld his dark form delineated by the bright

blaze; but there he stood! His shoes were burnt from his feet, his toes were even scorched by the intense heat, but the dauntless hero shrunk not. His perilous situation gave him good command of the flames, and after they were reduced, others ventured into the chapel, and the fire was quenched; not, however, before the greater part of the gallery had been consumed, many of the windows burnt out, and the chapel otherwise materially injured.

Mr. Bramley was neither a member of society, nor an attendant at the chapel; nay, he was a relative of the man who struck Wesley on the face as previously narrated. Many of the inhabitants also, whose prejudices against the cause were strong, rendered the most timely assistance, and were among the first to prevent the destruction of the chapel. Nor did they rest here, but voluntarily joined in subscribing for its restoration, and a sum of money more than sufficient for the purpose was speedily realised.

Liturgical controversy, in this early period of Methodist history, disturbed the peace of Yorkshire Methodists; but owing to their sturdy resistance it was of brief continuance. Wesley's abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer was introduced into all the chapels in the Halifax circuit in 1786. The congregation in the town had always shown an attachment to the establishment, but this could not be said with regard to the country, the congregations there being unused to attend church, and therefore unacquainted with the prayers. Thus, while their adoption was hailed with delight in the town, the country places were generally averse to them, and especially when read by Mr. Allen, in surplice and bands. At the close of the year the use of this abridgment was discontinued.

On October 16th, 1752, the ninth Conference was held in Bristol. At this time it was agreed that the preachers should receive a stipend of £12 per annum, in order to provide themselves with necessaries. Before this period, the stewards of each society supplied the preachers with what they wanted, so that they received no money save voluntary gifts from individuals, and a little from the stewards to pay for turnpikes and other travelling expenses. The consequence was, some popular preachers had abundance, while others were comparatively destitute. By this regulation the evil was remedied. But it was some time before this rule was universally adopted. In the year 1762 there was no such allowance in the York circuit. In the year 1764, in the Norwich circuit, the practice was to divide the love-feast money among the preachers, which was very little indeed. And in the year 1765, a deputation from the York circuit attended at Manchester, in order to plead

against the *large* sum of twelve pounds a year; but they were over-ruled, and it was finally and universally established. At the Conference of 1800 the following Minute was passed: "We recommend it to every Quarterly Meeting, where it is not done, to raise the preacher's stipend to four pounds a quarter."

To some of the preachers who travelled in the Haworth round, the application for clothing to the stewards was very distasteful. One of these was Benjamin Beanland, who, when he had nearly worn out the clothes in which he had set out, would not condescend to ask for more. He made this a pretext for leaving the work, and returned home again, saying, "Sooner than be damned for debt, he would work hard, and thus provide himself with what he wanted." On one occasion, after he had preached in Mr. Grimshaw's kitchen, the vicar of Haworth embraced him and said, "The Lord bless thee, Ben; this is worth a hundred of my sermons." This agrees with the statement of Atmore, that "He was a very sensible man, and possessed of uncommon ministerial gifts, so that he was a most delightful preacher. He was called to endure grievous sufferings for the truth's sake. He had many narrow escapes and wonderful deliverances; but at that time had such firm confidence in God, that the wicked were never permitted to do him any harm." For such a man to leave the work greatly displeased the Lord, and that which he so much feared, and by human prudence endeavoured to prevent, came awfully upon him, for after all his industry and economy, he was actually *cast into prison for debt*! He lived for many years afterwards in a state of extreme poverty and distress; and what was still worse, there is too much reason to fear that he also became vain in his imagination, followed the evil example of Demas, and lost that sweet savour of religion which he had once so happily enjoyed. It is remarkable that he frequently attempted to rise, and shake himself from the dust; that he often endeavoured to recover his ministerial gifts; but that God Whom he had so greatly dishonoured, would not permit this; and he ended his days very suddenly, in great obscurity, a monument of the just displeasure of Almighty God against those who desert the path of duty.

I could relate more recent cases where, for business reasons, increase of wealth, and political considerations, preaching was first partially discontinued, and then given up entirely; with the result of lamentable spiritual decline, loss of interest in sacred themes, and of influence in the church of God and over the ungodly. No calling is so high, no theme so grand, as that of the gospel preacher; and whatever he may

substitute for it, he must live on a much lower level than the man who is being constantly inspired by the study and exposition of Holy Scripture.

In the month of October, 1752, Whitefield again visited Haworth in connection with a Yorkshire preaching tour, and thousands flocked twice and thrice a day to hear the word of life, so that sometimes he scarcely knew whether he was on earth or in heaven. He says, "A gale of Divine influence has everywhere attended the word. God favours us with weather, and I would fain make hay while the sun shines. It is a pity to go into winter quarters, so long as the work can be done in the fields. Fain would I spend and be spent for the good of souls. This is my meat and drink."

On February 19th, 1753, Whitefield wrote to Grimshaw, "Rev. and very dear Sir, At present I have a cold and fever upon me; but I preach on, hoping one day or another to die in my work. We have had a blessed winter. Many have been added to our flock. Next week I intend to lay the first brick of our new Tabernacle. I am looking up for direction about my removal. Which are the best seasons for the North? I should be glad to know speedily. Have you the first account you wrote of your conversion? Or have you leisure to draw up a short narrative of the rise and progress of the work of God in your parts? A dear Christian minister in Scotland is about to publish two volumes relative to the late awakenings in various places. Such things should be transmitted to posterity; in heaven all will be known. Thanks be to God that there is such a rest remaining for His people! I am too impatient to get at it; but who can help longing to see Jesus? I wish you much, yea, very much prosperity."

The minister to whom allusion is made was the Rev. John Gillies, D.D., minister of the College Church, Glasgow, who in 1754 published "Historical Collections relating to Remarkable periods of the Success of the Gospel." In 1761, Gillies published an appendix in which a letter from Grimshaw appears, dated July 19th, 1754, which had arrived too late for the original volume; probably in response to Whitefield's request.

Another letter of Grimshaw's to Mrs. Gallatin, full of interesting detail respecting places and persons, must now be given. It is written from Smith House, Lightcliffe, the residence of a Mrs. Holmes. Mrs. Holmes was a lady of property, and of deep piety, whose house and purse were always open to all servants of the Lord, without regard to sect or party;—especially the Moravians, for whose comfort she built

a house. From this letter, and Wesley's Journal, it is evident that Grimshaw and Wesley were welcome visitors. In 1824 this house was still standing.

"Smith House, April 12th, 1753.

Dear Madam,

It was with much pleasure that I met with the favour of your kind letter the last Lord's Day. As I had heard nothing from you, nor concerning you, by anyone, since I wrote my last to you; or otherwise you had heard from me before now. Last week I was at Manchester and Bolton, with Mr. and Mrs. Wesley. In both places the work of God prospers greatly, especially in Manchester; they are two hundred and fifty in society there, and this summer must enlarge the preaching house as much again as it is. In Bolton differences heal, unity is a restoring, several revolvers in the rupture occasioned by Mr. Bennet are returned to us; but he himself has quite left us. In Chester there is a wonderful stirring up. All around us in general we have numerous congregations. New doors are frequently opening. Lately many souls in our societies are gone rejoicing home to Jesus.

Mr. John is gone round through Whitehaven, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Berwick, Newcastle, etc.; and purposes to be at York the 9th of May. I brought Mrs. Wesley and her daughter with me from Bolton to Leeds, where I left them at Miss Norton's the day before yesterday. My hands are too full to wait upon you in less time than a month, conveniently; but I purpose, if our dear Lord permit, to wait upon you at Mr. Wesley's coming to York, or shortly after. I hear also, and I am glad to hear it, from dear Mrs. Fanshaw (with whom I had almost forgot to tell you I lodged, and whose soul I trust prospers well in the Lord) that you purpose to spend a month, perhaps, at Manchester, in a little time. Pray be so kind as to let me know when you go thither, and I will meet you; nay, if possible, let me know if you pass through either Halifax or Rochdale on your way thither, and I will endeavour to go along with you to Manchester—I'll be your chaplain. Mrs. Wesley was with me when I received yours; I let her read it and she rejoiced, having told me that she had seen (I think she said) the letter I wrote to you in London.

"But after all, dear Madam, I hope your dear soul experiences not a little of the riches of the grace and goodness of our Heavenly Father towards us poor sinners, thro' the blood, righteousness, and Spirit of His dear Son, our dear Saviour. I believe He has begun a good work in you, and I trust He will carry it on and accomplish it. Only, I beseech you, watch unto

prayer, and continue in the same, yea, pray, read, meditate, self-examine; pray and contemplate continually. O you have glorious leisure for it. And where our Lord gives He requires. Sweet Jesus bless my Captain. Sweet Jesus bless you both. Remember me kindly to him. Excuse bad writing and bad paper, for 'tis the best I have here, I am travelling.

WM. GRIMSHAW.

17th Dragoons are joined with us at Manchester. Dear Mrs. Holmes, of whom you may have heard, with whom I now am, desires to be kindly remembered by you, and begs you will favour her with your company in your way to Manchester."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE Conference of 1753 was held in Leeds from the 22nd to the 24th of May. Grimshaw was present, as also these preachers who had gone out of the Haworth round into the itinerant ministry;—Jonathan Maskew, Thomas Mitchell, and Jonathan Catlow. Among the local preachers attending that Conference were three from the Haworth round; Thomas Colbeck, Thomas Lee, and Wm. Greenwood. The case of married preachers had to be seriously considered. The following questions and answers will show the position, and what was done to meet it.

“May 24th. Q. 4. What are those hardships upon the preachers which it is in our power to remove?

A. One of the greatest is that which lies on the married preachers. There is no provision for their wives.

Q. 5. Ought they not to be careful how they bring this upon themselves by marrying hand over head?

A. Undoubtedly they ought. Therefore any preacher who marries without consulting his ministers, or his brethren, should not take it amiss that he is then left to himself to provide for his wife how he can.

Q. 6. But if a preacher do consult them first, and still if he marry one that has nothing?

A. He must be content to return to his temporal business, and so commence as local preacher.

Q. 7. That the societies may the more readily assist the married preachers, ought not their wives to be as exemplary as possible?

A. Certainly they ought. In particular, they ought never to be idle, and constantly to attend the morning preaching.

Q. 8. But how may they have what is needful with the least trouble?

A. 1. Let the assistant inquire what each preacher's wife wants at every quarterly meeting. 2. Let those wants be supplied, first of all, out of the common stock. 3. Let a letter be wrote to all the societies on this head.”

The circuits, including Wales and Ireland, were twelve, and the preachers appointed to them were thirty-nine. Haworth was number eight, and had as its preachers, Jonathan Maskew, John Whitford, Enoch Williams, Joseph Jones, William Shent,

and John Edwards. Jonathan Maskew and William Shent have already been noticed at length. Of Messrs. Whitford and Williams little can be gleaned.

John Whitford is once incidentally mentioned in John Wesley's Journal. Charles names him thrice as a separatist, dividing societies, and setting up an independent congregation, which gave him similar trouble to that which he had created among the Methodists. This division was made while in the Haworth round, or immediately after, as he left the connexion, according to Myles, in 1754, and C. Wesley met him at Bolton, in Lancashire, where probably he was located. See J. Wesley's Journal, April 21st, 1755.

Of Enoch Williams, Atmore says,—“He was very pious, and deeply devoted to God, and was a faithful and successful preacher of the gospel; but the hardships he was called to endure proved too much for his constitution, and soon brought him to the house appointed for all living.” Memorial 508

Joseph Jones began to travel as an itinerant preacher in 1744. Very little can be learnt respecting him save that he was eminent for piety, and in such favour with Wesley as to be made his travelling companion for several years. In the course of his ministry he was taken very ill, at Bradford, and it was generally expected that he would die. He was so unspeakably happy in God, that many persons visited him that they might hear him speak of the things of God, and were greatly edified by his heavenly conversation. About 1760 he settled in Somersetshire, where he became a farmer, but retained his piety, and continued to exercise his talent as a local preacher for several years, and died in peace, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

Of the fifth preacher in the Haworth round in 1753, we have more information. John Edwards was a native of Ireland, and at an early period of his life became a partaker of the great salvation. Myles tells us that he commenced to travel in 1747. He was a very pious man, and an acceptable preacher; and his ministry was blessed to the people among whom he laboured. In the course of his itinerant labours he visited various parts of England, Wales, and Ireland. At one time while he was residing in Dublin, a party of rude fellows, called the Ormond Boys, seized him as he was returning from preaching at a village, and declared they would throw him over the bridge into the Liffey. This was observed by an opposite party, who had assumed the appellation of Liberty Boys, and resided on the other side of the river. They encountered his assailants and rescued Edwards out of their hands. Thus God preserved his life and made the wrath of man to praise Him.

At another time, after preaching out of doors, a furious mob of the White Boys beset the house into which he had entered, and threatened to burn it to the ground. There was but one way of escape, and that was through a window opening upon the garden belonging to a justice of the peace, who was a bitter persecutor of the Methodists. Through this window Edwards was let down into the garden. Here he stood for some time in great apprehension that, if observed, he would be charged with having broken into the garden for bad purposes, and thereby both religion and himself might be injured. At length he ventured to knock at the door, asked for the magistrate, and being introduced, ingenuously stated the circumstances of his distressed condition. This had such an effect upon the gentleman's mind that he protected and entertained him at his house two days in a hospitable manner.

Some time after, a number of soldiers brought to the knowledge of God under the ministry of Edwards, who had been removed to another town, requested him to come and preach there. On his way thither he was met by some of them and informed that the people of the place threatened to take his life, and they could not answer for his safety. Edwards, however, was not to be dissuaded from his purpose; for, on his arrival, he immediately preached in the street in the presence of the Mayor and other important persons, who prevented any disturbance. After the service the Mayor invited him to breakfast, with several of the principal inhabitants, who told him they were glad he had come, and hoped the Methodists would succeed in their endeavours to reform the town. They also subscribed to the support of regular preaching in a room, and soon a society was formed, to the great joy of the poor soldiers.

About the year 1755, Edwards, having embraced Calvinistic doctrines, left the Methodists, and built the White Chapel, in Leeds, where he ministered for more than thirty years. The Rev. John Berridge heard him preach in Whitefield's Tabernacle on September 2nd, 1763, and describes him as "a sensible man, who seems alive, but a wonderful admirer of method, and one who has swallowed John Calvin whole at a mouthful." He was very useful, universally respected, and at his death, about 1784, was greatly lamented by his flock.

In 1753 we have Charles Wesley's distinct testimony to the pre-eminence of his brother as the leader of the Methodists; but it also exhibits his inability to see the permanence, and far-reaching issues, of the Methodist revival. John Wesley, at the end of 1753, was supposed to be dying of consumption. Charles had been hastily summoned from Bristol to see him

before he died. In view of that event he says, Dec. 4th, 1753, "I told the society on Sunday night that I neither could nor would stand in my brother's place if God took him to Himself; for I had neither a body, nor a mind, nor talents, nor grace for it." His real disposition and conviction was toward the settled ministry and ecclesiastical order of the Established Church.

After the close of the Conference of 1753, John Wesley remained in Yorkshire, and on Tuesday, June 29th, says: "I preached at Keighley, where the loving spirit and exemplary behaviour of one young man, has been the means of convincing all the town, except those of his own household. Wednesday, 30th, I rode to Haworth, where Mr. Grimshaw read prayers, and I preached to a crowded congregation. But having preached ten or eleven times in three days, besides meeting the societies, my voice began to fail. Not that I was hoarse at all, but I had not strength to speak. However, it was restored at Heptonstall in the afternoon, so that the whole congregation could hear. When shall we learn to take thought only for the present hour? Is it not enough, that God gives help when we want it?"

Thursday, 31st. I rode through a delightful vale to General Wood, near Todmorden. The sun was burning hot, but they set up a little tent for me, resembling that I had at Glasgow. The people stood or sat on the grass round about. The afternoon was the hottest I can remember in England, so that by the time we came to Bolton, I was fit for nothing but to lie down. However, in the evening my strength was renewed, and we rejoiced together in God our Saviour."

The young man in Keighley, to whom Mr. Wesley alludes, accords closely in character with Mr. Thomas Colbeck. Mr. Booth, one of the early travelling preachers, says "that Mr. Colbeck was one of the most amiable characters in the county of Yorkshire." Such also was the testimony of Mr. Grimshaw, given in a very characteristic way. Edward Sunderland, a leader in the first society, and barber to the preachers in those days, related the following anecdote. He was one day shaving Mr. Grimshaw and several preachers at Mr. Colbeck's house. As he rubbed the lather on Mr. Colbeck's face, Mr. Grimshaw said, "I tell thee what Tommy, an ounce of grace on thy face will shine as much as a pound on mine." Mr. Grimshaw was certainly no beauty. He had a plain, rugged face, which doubtless could light up under the influence of his genial nature, but was quite in harmony with his determined and zealous character. This anecdote, in conjunction with the one respecting Grimshaw's

defence of Colbeck at Roughlee, confirm the report that the latter was a mild and gentle man of benignant aspect. Mr. Colbeck was held in great esteem by his neighbours for his kindness, honesty, and uprightness in all his dealings; hence he could face his townsmen, and frequently preached to large congregations in the open air in Keighley.

Wesley had so high an opinion of Colbeck's talents and character as to place him on the list of itinerants at the London Conference of 1748. He did not however take a circuit. We find him attending the Bristol Conference of 1758 as a local preacher, or half itinerant, a phrase used at the time to designate a class of helpers who sometimes itinerated several months together, supplying in any circuit at Wesley's pleasure.

Although Colbeck did not go out to travel through the kingdom, he had a wide field of usefulness in the old Haworth round. Samuel Botts, a Methodist preacher in close connection with the Colbeck family, writing twenty-two years after his death, says, "For many years he was a faithful and indefatigable local preacher, and it pleased God to crown his labours with great success. His memory is still precious to many in those parts, who speak of him with the greatest respect, and bless God that ever they heard the truth of the gospel from his lips."

In company with a few like-minded men, he was the means of introducing Methodism into the villages and towns for many miles round; and he was one of the principal trustees for most of the early chapels in a very extensive tract of country. He was also a frequent companion of the Rev. W. Grimshaw in his evangelistic tours. No other member of the Keighley society did so much for the Methodists, in providing for public worship, as will be seen later in this history. Also as the successor of Mr. Grimshaw in the stewardship of the round, from the time of Grimshaw's death, he deserves a premier place among the laymen who have held that office. Mr. Colbeck's entries in the circuit book cease with October 7th, 1779.

His successor makes one with reference to Mr. Colbeck's son, as follows. "Mr. Hindmarsh's expenses to Conference, being at Bristol, something interfering he was obliged to go in the carriage £4 14s." This is explained in a marginal note:—"T. Colbeck being to carry to Kingswood School was reason of Mr. H. going in carriage." A journey to Bristol by coach on the part of a Methodist preacher would be thought such an extravagance as to need careful explanation.

Mr. Colbeck died on November 5th in that year, having caught a fever through visiting a fever-stricken person. He was warned not to go near the bed as the case was a very bad one. He therefore knelt down and prayed in the doorway, the worst position he could have taken,—his physician afterwards told him—caught the fever, went home, and on the 5th November, 1779, died at the age of fifty-six. In a corner of the Keighley Parish church-yard, where the members of several Methodist preachers families rest, I once saw part of a tombstone inscribed with the good man's name. It has disappeared and no memorial is found even in the pages of the Methodist Magazine, where contemporaries have a record. No sketch has appeared in print, but his place in the great revival is that of the first who gave to Methodism a local habitation in Keighley, and I trust this collection of fragments regarding him will preserve him permanently from oblivion.

As a class leader Mr. Colbeck occupied a prominent place. He had two large classes under his care, one of which was held in the house of Mary Denbigh, an unmarried woman living in Waggon Fold, south-east of the market place. She kept a school and numbered among her scholars (when a boy) the Rev. Thos. Bartholomew. Mary Denbigh was a remarkably pious woman, and very zealous for the prosperity of Zion. Her assistance was invaluable to Mr. Colbeck, whom, at his death, she succeeded as leader. She visited people who had no concern for religion, reasoning with them on the necessity of giving themselves to God, and endeavouring to persuade both men and women to join the class.

In the list of members of the Keighley society from 1777 to 1792, the name of Mrs. Knowlton appears as meeting in class, first with Mr. Colbeck, and afterward with Mr. Illingworth his successor in the second class. The Rector of Keighley at that time was the Rev. C. Knowlton, inducted 1753, and it is probable that this was his wife, as she is distinguished from the other members by the designation of *Mrs.* whereas only their christian names are given. It is evident that the relations of the Established Church and Methodism were very friendly during the rectorate of Mr. Knowlton, for the Methodist Sunday School was the only one, and was attended by children of all denominations. Mr. Knowlton was rector from 1753 to 1814, sixty-one years.

Mr. Colbeck was also of great spiritual service to John Whitaker, who was afterwards circuit steward, and a very eminent Methodist in the Keighley and Otley circuits for about sixty-eight years. When about twelve years of age John Whitaker was deeply con-

vinced of sin, and at sixteen cast in his lot with the Methodists. He was put apprentice to a wealthy man at Rishworth Hall. Here he suffered great persecution and every effort was made, both by threat and promise, to sever him from the Society. Young Whitaker frequently got out of a window and came to Keighley that he might talk with Mr. Colbeck. Their place of meeting was the road between Keighley and Stockbridge, where they walked backward and forward in earnest conversation. Mr. Colbeck advised him to get a certain tract and place it where his master would find it. This he did; the tract was read, and his master and mistress became favourable to Methodism, and allowed him to attend the meetings.* It was no small thing thus to help a man of whom an intimate friend, the Rev. James Wood, could say at the close of life, "I am aware of some difficulty in giving a fair representation of a departed friend; yet I must say, whatever defects were found in Mr. J. Whitaker, they were not known to me; nor did I ever know a more spotless character, as a husband, a parent, a master, a man of business, or a friend, in all the circle of my acquaintances."

In the autumn of 1753 Mr. Whitefield paid a visit to Haworth, in connection with a preaching tour, which he thus describes in a letter dated London, Sept. 26th: "During the last three months I have been enabled to travel about 1200 miles, and to preach about 180 sermons to many, very many, thousands of souls. More glorious seasons I never saw. My last excursion has been to York, Lincolnshire, Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Northampton, where, I believe, near 10,000 came to hear last Lord's-day."†

Whitefield's allusion to Haworth is extremely brief, but in a letter to Mrs. Gallatin, dated Sept. 19th, 1753, Grimshaw thus refers to the event:

"Haworth, Sept. 19th, 1753.

Dear Madam,

I wonder I have not heard from you once since I took leave of you at Manchester. Mrs. Holmes told me you was in good health when there, and I hope these lines will visit you in the same. We have lately had Mr. Whitefield in these parts, and since, I suppose, you have had him at York. Here, and in general everywhere about us, he had more numerous congregations than ever before. In my church he assisted me in administering the Lord's Supper to as many communicants as sipped away 35 bottles of wine within a gill. It was a high day indeed.

*Probably related to Mr. C. D. Hardcastle by my father.

†Whitefield, 2-315.

A Sabbath of Sabbaths. I think shortly of waiting upon you and fulfilling the last part of my promise to you at York.

The day is far spent, the night is at hand; and yet this is our accepted time. Now let us freely part with all, that we may freely have all in Christ. His Spirit, His blood, His righteousness, His love, His grace, His glory, and that for evermore in faith, in hope, in union, communion, and divine assurance,—this is heaven begun on earth; this is the Kingdom of God within us. In comparison of the very least perception and glimpse whereof, all the glories of this world, all the imaginable treasures and pleasures of it, are mere dung and dross. To us to live, O let it be Christ, and then to die will be our everlasting gain. Then we shall never grudge our having pluck'd out a right eye, or cut off a right hand or right foot. Let us then determine to know nothing, possess and follow nothing, in heart, lip, and life, but Jesus. Jesus, Jesus and Him crucified. 'Tis true we may, nay, are sure to be, exposed to the contempt and reproach of the world. But no matter, a day is at hand, when those that laugh at us now shall mourn unpitied then. Watch unto prayer and continue therein. I hope the dear Captain is well; I suppose he is at Leeds, though I've not heard of him lately. Pray for me, and I'll pray for you.

WM. GRIMSHAW."

I have several times seen the two large pewter flagons, holding about two quarts, used on these great sacramental occasions. They were kept in the vestry of the old church. Grimshaw bought them for the use of the church, in the year 1750. Immediately under the rim of the cup the following lines are engraved:—

" In *Jesus* we live, in *Jesus* we rest,
And thankful receive His dying bequest,
The Cup of *Salvation* His mercy bestows,
All, all from *His* passion our happiness flows."

On the flagon are these lines:—

" Blest *Jesus* what delicious fare,
How sweet *Thine* entertainments are;
Never did *Angels* taste above,
Redeeming grace or dying *Love*.

A.D. 1750."

The correspondence of Grimshaw with Mrs. Gallatin is continued in 1754 by another highly spiritual letter:—

" Haworth, May 10th, 1754.

Dear Sister,

For (think of it as you please) so I trust I may call you; this is the long letter I promised you. If any blessing occur to your precious soul from my pen or prayer, to us be the joy

and to our Saviour be the praise. Might grace be suspended, which God forbid, and nature indulged, I can never be better disposed that at present to sympathise with you, and condole your loss. For since the Lord called home your dear brother, He has called home my dear father. To be sure, the sadness of your brother's death is a circumstance extremely moving and regretting; but is it not the Lord? Let Him, therefore, do what seemeth Him good. Our loss I trust is their everlasting gain. Yet a little while, a few pulses more, and we shall overtake them again, and share with them and the rest of the Church triumphant in the eternal glories of heaven. I doubt not your brother's happiness. The Lord's arm is not shortened, neither can His truth or mercy fail. What He hath begun He will accomplish, and He can do great things in a moment.

"Come then, rather than sorrow as men without hope for them that sleep in Him, let us hail their happy change, and prepare with all speed to follow them. But you say, you are no sister in Christ. Why so? Surely, to go as low as I can with you, you have the seed of Divine life in you; your life is hid with Christ in God. If you are not a sensible born child of God (which I think you are), yet, surely, you are a child in embryo. The grain of mustard shall become a large tree. Christ is glorious, gracious soil to plant and grow in. Pray apply that excellent truth in your letter concerning your brother's state to yourself. 'If,' say you, 'the Lord had prepared him to receive it' (meaning the gospel) He would accomplish His own work before He called him hence.' Very true, and so I will warrant you, will He do with you. Do you believe, 'All things are possible to them that believe'? Believe and be saved. True, this is the Lord our Redeemer's work; and as He is the author, so is He the finisher of our faith.

"Permit me to give you the following advice, some of it extracted from the writings of a truly spiritual and worthy divine of the last century. In prosperity or adversity; in comforts or crosses; in consolations or terrors of conscience; in life or death, of yourself or your friends, &c., extract an unconquerable patience, resignation, and peace of soul from—Rom. viii., 18, 28, 32, 35, 37 and 39. Dear sister, treasure up in your bosom, and store these words as a jewel inestimable and infinitely surpassing all the glory and grandeur of this world. Pray tell dear Lady Huntingdon to do so too.

"Next I beseech, through the help of our dear Immanuel, which is ever at hand to them that call upon Him, labour to settle in your breast a true estimate of the sum, substance, life and marrow of the gospel of our dear Redeemer; that it con-

sisteth not in speculation, notion, opinion, form or mode of religion; but in the hidden man of the heart, Christ formed in us, the only hope of glory; the life and fire of God in our soul; a Kingdom within us, which is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, naturally and necessarily producing love, meekness, tender-heartedness, bowels of compassion, contentedness, moderation of passion, holy conduct of the tongue, abounding in works of mercy, special benevolence and bounty to God's people, love of our enemies, &c. . . O happy are such souls as these, (I know all this in some measure, blessed be the Lord, by several years' sweet experience) yea blessed are the people that have thus the Lord for their God. Glory, glory, glory be to our dear Saviour for free grace.

"Again, dear sister, the more effectually to inforce my last advice, let me desire you to be mindful of your heavenly origin, your new birth, that you are born from above, and that your native home is the New Jerusalem, the City of God. That your glory is His face, and your company Himself and all the glorified host of heaven. The worldling's happiness, were all the globe his own and all the glories of it, is but a mere chimera, but yours is a most inestimable, immeasurable, eternal weight of glory.

"I bless the Lord His work still spreads and flourishes on all sides of us, and I also receive good accounts from various parts. You will favour me with an account how it goes at Norwich. Please to present my respects heartily to dear Mr. Gallatin; how glad could I be to see you both—when will that happy day come? Surely, if not here, eternally in heaven.

WM. GRIMSHAW."

On July 25th, 1754, entries again commence in the circuit book, and Mixenden pays £1 12s. 6d.

On October 24th, the first contribution, £2 5s. 10d., is brought from Keighley to the quarter board by Thos. Colbeck. He disbursed £10 8s. 1d., and from the following entry seems to have then become responsible for the first circuit debt. "Due this day (which is all we owe) to Mr. Thos. Colbeck £6 0s. 2½d."

On July 25th, the names of two local preachers occur, who during following years took an active part in ministering the word in the Round:—Wm. Greenwood, of Mixenden, and Parson Greenwood, of Heptonstall. The former was invited by Wesley to attend the Leeds Conference of 1753; and the latter subsequently entered the itinerant ministry.

On January 23rd, 1755, Simonstone, near Padiham, sends 6s. 10d to the quarter board by Paul Greenwood, and Burley 3s. 6d. This probably is Burnley, but it may be Burley-in-Wharfedale.

April 24th, Otley 5s., by Paul Greenwood. July 24th, Lutterden Dean, 7s. 6d., by John Coates. October 23rd, Haslingden, £2 os. 7d., by George Ramsbottom.

Grimshaw and Colbeck appear to have exercised a joint stewardship, for the balances remain sometimes with one, and sometimes with the other.

October 23rd. For Quarter Day Dinners, 3s. 6d. As at least six preachers and stewards were present, they spent the modest sum of sevenpence each. From subsequent entries this appears to have been the usual charge.

To three preachers, Jonathan Maskew, J. Hacking, and Parson Greenwood, 5s. each was paid; and for Jonathan Maskew's shirts and stockings, 14s. 10d.

Of John Hacking we have no account beyond the statement of Myles, that he became an itinerant in 1754, and retired from the work in 1760. His name appears in the Todmorden book, June 4th, 1751, with a charge of 1s. for a "night." Again, September 3rd, Night 1s. As this seems to have been the common charge for board and lodging, I take it that he was then preaching in the circuit. Oct. 12th, 1752, there is a saddle for John Hacking, 15s. Feb. 15th, 1753, waistcoat 3s., and "some cloth toward a riding coat, 5s." March 14th, coat making, 2s. 6d. August 28th, shoes, 5s. 3d.

In April 1755, John Wesley is again found in the Haworth Round. April 25th he says, "I preached near Todmorden. The people stood, row upon row, on the side of the mountain. They were rough enough in outward appearance, but their hearts were as melting wax."

"One can hardly conceive anything more delightful than the vale through which we rode from hence. The river ran through the green meadows on the right. The fruitful hills and woods rose on either hand. Yet here and there a rock hung over. At three in the afternoon I preached at Heptonstall, on the brow of the mountain. The rain began almost as soon as I began to speak. I prayed that, if God saw best, it might be stayed till I had delivered His word. It was so, and then began again. But we had only a short stage to Ewood.

"Saturday, 26th, I preached, at seven, to a large and serious congregation, and again at four in the afternoon. When I began, in a meadow near the house, the wind was so high I could hardly speak. But the winds too are in God's hands; in a few minutes that inconvenience ceased, and we found the Spirit of God breathing in the midst of us, so that great was our rejoicing in the Lord.

"Sunday, 27th. A little before I took horse, I looked into a room as I walked by, and saw a good old man bleeding almost

to death. I desired him immediately to snuff vinegar up his nose, and apply it to his neck, face, and temples. It was done, and the blood entirely stopped in less than two minutes.

"The rain began about five and did not intermit till we came to Haworth; notwithstanding which, a multitude of people were gathered together at ten. In the afternoon I was obliged to go out of the church, abundance of people not being able to get in. The rain ceased from the moment I came out, till I had finished my discourse. How many proofs must we have that there is no petition too little, any more than too great, for God to grant.

"Monday 28th, I preached at Keighley"

From thence Wesley went on Tuesday to Bradford, and in the afternoon to Birstall.

CHAPTER XIV.

In 1755, the question of attending church, and receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the hands of the clergy alone, had reached an acute stage in the case of many of the lay preachers and members of society. They could not see the reasonableness of being exhorted to listen to careless and ungodly ministers; of receiving the emblems of Christ's passion at their unworthy hands, or of being entirely debarred from the ordinance where it was—as in some cases—absolutely refused them.

John Wesley saw their position, and honestly admitted their difficulties, and the conscientious nature of their scruples; but he was a staunch churchman, and extremely anxious not to form a new sect. Charles Wesley had altogether less charity and reasonableness, and was an ultra churchman in his whole treatment of the question; but for the firmness, tact, and Christian charity of his brother, he would have wrecked Methodism in this time of crisis. We are now sufficiently distant from the period to see how God, in His providence, guided and restrained all parties, until the inevitable separation was gradually brought about, and the Methodist preachers came to the performance of all the rites of a true section of Christ's Church. We can now see that the long restraint was one of the wisest means used by the Head of the Church to prevent the concentration of time and thought on questions of orders and organisation. The delay gave the world more than fifty years' experience of a ministry strictly designated *lay*, and confined to lines recognised as such. The results that followed, in conjunction with the ever increasing numbers and work of the local preachers, are a standing protest against all future ecclesiastical claims of an exclusive sacerdotal character. Reasonable as the position of the lay preachers may seem to us, yet an earlier bestowal of full ministerial status and functions would doubtless have caused severance between them and the clergy favourable to Methodism, who certainly had some weighty reasons to urge from the standpoint of their time.

The good vicar of Haworth, in a letter immediately before the Conference of 1755, held in Leeds, opens his mind fully on the question of separation from the establishment, to his friend, Mrs. Gallatin.

“Haworth, May 2nd, 1755.

Dear Madam,

I am both sorry and ashamed that you should have wrote thrice to me, and I so dilatory and ungrateful as not to have wrote once to you, tho' I only remember the reception of two letters since my last to you. The former I received a little before the Assizes at York,—permit me, however, to beg your pardon, and presume to obtain it.

“As to the Lay Preachers' new scheme, I've no relish for it, nor is it expedient, but rather evidently clogging our Connection with several grievous difficulties. Their main design, as I understand, is to take upon them the office of administering the Lord's Supper. But this, as I conceive, is not expedient; because few of the clergy deny this sacrament to our people. Nor is the reception of it from a carnal minister's hand any objection thereto, or any obstruction to the communicant's blessing, provided he receives in faith.

As to the difficulties attending their design—such an attempt cannot be countenanced without a manifest rupture with the established Church. We must then be declared Dissenters. The clamour and resentment of the clergy, etc., will then, and deservedly, be great against us; the work of God which has hitherto been greatly blessed in our hands, I fear, will then be greatly impeded. Moreover, such a design will be irreconcilable with various of Mr. Wesley's writings: and, for my part, should this scheme take place, I must leave the Methodists; for I am determined to live and die in close communion, a member and minister of the Church of England; for altho' I can by no means endure the doctrines and deportment of the clergy in general, yet I have no reason to quarrel with our Church. Her Articles, Homilies, Catechism, Liturgy, etc., for the main are orthodox and good. Methodism in substance is the same. I can harmoniously, as matters have hitherto been carried on, be a minister of our church and a Methodist preacher, and thus I could wish to live and die. But if my fellow labourers will needs be innovating, I must adhere to the former capacity, and decline the latter. Mr. John Wesley is now among us, I have conferred with him upon this affair, and he is as much against it as I am. Upon the whole I am apt to believe the event will be that the expounders of this scheme will be obliged to drop it, or be cast out by us. The matter, however, will be discussed in the Conference, and that begins on Tuesday next, at Leeds, you shall hear the result of it, God willing, in my next.

“I was at York in the Assize week, dined with Br. Baldock, and saw nothing but love and sincerity in him, tho' I think a

little unsettled in his mind. He does not constantly, as I was told, attend his class; and sometimes speaks in favour of Mr. Ingham's scheme, but truly an Antinomian I dare not call him. Dr. Cockburn and his lady, Mrs. Dawson, and Miss Hudson are apparently staunch Methodists. Mr. Williams, one of the vicars of the Minster, constantly in his gown attends preaching, and associates indiscriminately and unreservedly with all the lay preachers. He is a bold champion of the truth. There is a numerous congregation there. The work greatly flourishes in the city, and in preaching I found great liberty among them.

"And does my much esteemed friend expect to be encamped soon, and are there great preparations for war with you, and would you have me pray for peace? Oh, that God would hear me in this matter; but I believe or fear He will not. God has a controversy with this nation! The plague is begun, this preparation for war, the beginning of sorrows. The nation has nearly filled up the measure of her iniquities, and the Lord, I am bold to tell you, will shortly pour out the vials of His wrath upon a guilty land. Half an eye (as the saying is) will let you see this. Within these seven years, wars, rumours of wars, noises, lights, sights in the air, pestilence of cattle, earthquakes in divers places of the kingdom (O what havoc has one lately made near Thirsk in this county) and last, the wonderful progress the gospel still makes in the nation, all portend the approach of grievous calamities to our country. I desire you will make the man Christ Jesus your only hiding-place. This I am resolved to do. Here alone will be our only safety. All that shelter themselves here shall be safe from the approaching troubles. Could I persuade my dear friend to dispose of his commission? I could heartily wish it, were it not to deprive our gracious Sovereign of an experienced and useful officer at this dangerous juncture. But the will of the Lord be done! Pray present my unfeigned cordial respects to him. I'll remember you both before my Lord. All things go well with our societies. Congregations are numerous, new doors are opened. I can preach, or prate, or something, with pleasure twenty times a week. Glory be ascribed to my Lord for it.

I doubt not but you keep close to a crucified Saviour—that 'tis your care and prayer that He may be your only wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and that He may be a Christ in you the hope of glory. May He of His infinite mercy grant it. Pray for me and I'll pray for you. I am your affectionate but ungrateful friend.—WM. GRIMSHAW."

Grimshaw was present at the Conference which met four days later. Charles Wesley and sixty-three preachers were also in attendance. John Wesley thus summarises the result. "The

point on which we desired all the preachers to speak their minds at large was, whether we ought to separate from the Church. Whatever was advanced on one side or the other, was sincerely and calmly considered; and on the third day we were all fully agreed in the general conclusion, that, whether it was lawful or not, it was no ways expedient."

In notes of the Conference of 1755, made by John Jones, one of the early preachers, there is a list of twelve half-itinerants, in which we find the names of Wm. Shent, Jonathan Maskew, and Enoch Williams. Also of "our chief local preachers," fifteen in number, two of whom are Thos. Colbeck and Titus Knight of this round.

The searching nature of Wesley's enquiries at these early Conferences, may be gathered from the following notes. Says Wesley, "At the close of the Conference I spoke thus: It has been affirmed that none of our itinerant preachers are so much alive as they were seven years ago. I fear many are not. But if so, they are unfit for the work, which requires much life. Otherwise your labour will be tiresome to yourself, and of little use to others. . . . I have several reasons to fear it is so with many of you; but let your own conscience be the judge. Who of you is exemplarily alive to God, so as to carry fire with him wherever he goes? Who of you is a pattern of self-denial, even in little things? Who of you drinks water? Why not? Who rises at four? Why not? Who fasts on Friday? Why not? Who has not four meals a day? Who goes through his work willingly and diligently? Who never on any account disappoints a congregation? &c."

The position toward the Church question will be further seen by the following letter. The Rev. W. Baddiley, a devoted minister at Hayfield, in Derbyshire, thus wrote to Wesley on June 7th, 1755. "Dear Sir, I would speak with regard to the case debated in your Conference at Leeds. . . . What can the event be, but settling in such places as seem most commodious to them, and then settling upon their lees? Has not this been the general bane of Scriptural Christianity? Has it not eaten out the life of religion, and caused the power of godliness to dwindle in Dissenters of every denomination? For who—who can bear ease and fulness of bread? I query much, if upon dissenting from the Established Church, the divisions and subdivisions of the Methodists among themselves would not exceed those of the Anabaptists in Germany."*

In the next letter to Mrs. Gallatin, we have Grimshaw in the character of medical adviser for the body, as well as pro-

*Methodist Magazine, 1779, p. 320.

found physician to the soul of his patient. In the latter capacity at any rate, from a sentence in brackets, he does not delineate experience he has not personally felt. He refers again to the topic debated in Conference,—separation from the Church, and indicates steps in that direction being taken in Leeds.

“Haworth, September 15th, 1755.

Madam,

Last Monday I received the favour of your kind letter. I think myself greatly obliged to you that you so willingly will give yourself the trouble to write to such a poor unworthy worm as I am; for such am I in God’s sight, however I am in yours. I am viler than the vilest of creatures. It likewise affords me pleasure, but O let my Lord have the praise of it, that my letters are in anywise profitable to your soul; it is indeed my desire they should be so, tho’ I am amazed when you tell me they are so.

“I am sorry and not sorry for your nervous complaint. As it is an affliction I am sorry for you, but as to some of its effects I am not sorry for you. Would you remove it? I dare say there is no such a thing. It will rather grow worse as you grow older. Your best helps however will be to abstain from all laxative and windy diet, particularly tea, coffee, and roots, and bath frequently for a season in a cold well, drinking chalybeates, especially the German spa waters. These will help you but not cure you. No, shall your life be shorter for your complaint? Nay verily—the Lord, as His word tells us, can bring good out of every evil, and so will He out of this: but because nervous cases have something in them peculiarly tending to promote religious impressions upon the mind. They naturally destroy all gaiety of disposition, all relish for the pleasures of the world, they fill the mind with pensive concern for the things of another world; they greatly befriended the soul in its desires and pursuits after holiness, grace, and glory eternal, and all the blessed means and exercises thereof. Such are some of the effects arising from relaxed and languid nerves. And therefore for this I am not sorry. My dear Lord has laid this clog to your foot to save you from rambling away from His fold, into a conformity with the world, and that your heart and affections may be wholly set (in the midst of an opulent fortune) on things above where He sits at the right hand of God.

“I could have wished to have seen in your last a few words relating to the present state of your soul that I might the better have adopted a paragraph to your case in this. Perhaps I may obtain that favour of you in your next. Otherwise, I fear I shall lose one great and main design of my conversation

by letters with you. In the meanwhile are we in Christ Jesus, new creatures, vessels of grace, temples of the living God, sons of God and heirs of eternal glory. This is a grand and glorious state. How should our faith, hope, confidence, and experimental assurance of such glorious privileges in the dear Emmanuel inspire our souls with a fervent love for Him, an unquenchable zeal for the illustration of His glory, the prosperity of His church, and the salvation of souls. To us it also belongs, yea, our dear Redeemer, as our reasonable service, most justly requires that without delay and reserve we should give up our bodies, souls, and spirits, a living sacrifice unto Him." God grant we may.

"Blessed be the Lord, His work still prospers and spreads in these parts. At York I hope the church flourishes. Mr. Cockburn is a champion in our Lord's cause—so is his lady. Mr. Johnson is lately and agreeably married and has left his master. Mr. Baldock and Mr. Elswick, I suppose, are almost Inghamites. The former lately got poisoned, but I hear recovered again.

"The design of administering the Ordinances, &c., by our preachers got seemingly quite quashed at the Leeds Conference, though since there appears an intention of resuming it there—insomuch that a rupture is expected in these societies in a little time. Miss Norton is said to be at the head of the separation, and she is building another place for preaching in, and Mr. Edwards is expected to be the minister there.

Paul Greenwood is in Cornwall, and I trust God is with him. He retains his old simplicity, and I hope is blessed in his labours. May the Lord send you more labourers into your part of His vineyard. My sincere respects pray present to Mr. Gallatin. Pray for me and I'll pray for you.

I am, your ever obliged and humble servant,

WM. GRIMSHAW.

P.S.—Pray to what post is Mr. Gallatin lately advanced? and will not this render a new form of directing my letters to you requisite?"

The above letter of Grimshaw shows that he was satisfied with the result of the Conference, but not that the question was finally settled. Charles Wesley had left Leeds with uncourtous abruptness, and the following fine letters from John Wesley cause us to thank God that the elder brother was the real leader of the Methodist revival.

"London, June 20th, 1755.

Dear Brother,

Did not you understand that they all promised, by Thomas

Walsh, not to administer even among themselves? I think that a huge point given up; perhaps more than they could give up with a clear conscience. They showed an excellent spirit. When I (not to say you) spoke once and again—spoke *satis pro imperio* (with sufficient authority), when I reflected on their answers, I admired their spirit and was ashamed of my own. The practical conclusion was, 'Not to separate from the Church! Did we not all agree in this? Surely, either you or I must have been asleep, or we could not differ so widely on a matter of fact! Here is Charles Perronet raving because his friends have given up all; and Charles Wesley because they have given up nothing; and I, in the midst, staring and wondering both at one and the other. I do not want to do anything more, unless I could bring them over to my opinion; and I am not in haste for that. Joseph Cownley says, 'For such and such reasons, I dare not hear a drunkard preach, or read prayers,' I answer, 'I dare'—but I cannot answer his reasons. Adieu!

J. WESLEY.*

What splendid toleration, and candid admission of another possible view, truer than his own, on a great question! Of like spirit is the next letter.

"London, June 28th, 1755.

Dear Brother,

Go to Ireland, if you think so, and save Ireland. Wherever I have been in England the societies are far more firmly and rationally attached to the Church than ever they were before. I have no fear about this matter. I only fear the preachers', or the peoples, leaving, not the Church, but the love of God, and inward or outward holiness. To this I press them forward continually. I dare not, in conscience, spend my time or strength on externals. If, as my lady says, all outward establishments are Babel, so is this establishment. Let it stand for me, I neither set it up nor put it down. But let you and I build up the city of God. . . . Thomas Walsh (I will declare it on the house top) has given me all the satisfaction I desire, and all that an honest man could give. I love, admire, and honour him; and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit. But enough of this. Let us draw the saw no longer but use all our talents to promote the mind that was in Christ. We have not one preacher, who either proposed, or desires, or designs (that I know) to separate from the Church at all. Their principles, in this single point of ordination, I do not approve; but I pray for more and more of their spirit (in general) and practice. Driving me may make me fluctuate; though I do not yet. 'When the preachers in Ireland set up

*Works, xii-111.

for themselves, must you not disown them?' I answer, 'When!' Adieu. JOHN WESLEY.

These letters must have drawn from Charles some reply remarkably objectionable to his elder brother, for he administers the following severe rebuke:

"You are by no means free from temptation. You are as positive as if you had never seen either Stillingfleet, or Baxter. I am very calm and cool, determining nothing, but to do nothing rashly. Now which is more in the temptation? To my thought, you are in it, and over head and ears. Your gross bigotry lies here, in putting a man on a level with an adulterer, because he differs from you as to church government. What miserable confounding the degrees of good and evil is this!"

What were the reasons for separation urged by some of the most godly lay preachers? John Wesley gives them in a letter to the Rev. S. Walker, of Truro, dated September 24th, 1755. "With regard to the Liturgy itself: though they allow it is, in general, one of the most excellent human compositions that ever was, yet they think it both absurd and sinful, to declare such an assent and consent as is required, to any merely human composition. Again, though they do not object to forms, yet they dare not confine themselves to them. And in this form (the book of Common Prayer) there are several things which they apprehend to be contrary to Scripture. Secondly, as to the laws of the Church, if they include the Canons and Decretals (both which are received as such in our courts), they think 'the latter are the very dregs of Popery, and that many of the former, the Canons of 1603, are as grossly wicked as absurd.' And over and above the objections which they have to several particular ones, they think, '1. That the spirit which they breathe is throughout truly Papist and anti-christian. 2. That nothing can be more diabolical than the *ipso facto* excommunication so often denounced therein. 3. That the whole method of executing these Canons, the process used in our spiritual courts, is too bad to be tolerated (not in a Christian, but) in a Mohammedan or Pagan nation.'

"Thirdly, with respect to the ministers, they doubt 'Whether there are not many of them whom God hath not sent, inasmuch as they neither live the gospel, nor teach it; neither indeed can, seeing they do not know it.' They doubt the more, 'because themselves disclaim that inward call to the ministry, which is at least as necessary as the outward.' And they are not clear 'whether it be lawful to attend the ministrations of those whom God has not sent to minister'?

"Fourthly. The doctrines actually taught by these, and

indeed by a great majority of the Church-ministers, they think 'are not only wrong, but fundamentally so, and subversive of the whole gospel.' They, therefore, doubt 'whether it be lawful to bid them God speed, or to have any fellowship with them.' "

On these objections Wesley candidly says to Rev. S. Walker, of Truro, "I freely acknowledge that I cannot answer these arguments to my own satisfaction. So that my conclusion, which I cannot give up, 'That it is lawful to continue in the Church,' stands, I know not, almost without any premisses that are able to bear its weight. My difficulty is very much increased by one of your observations. I know the original doctrines of the Church are sound: I know her worship is, in the main, pure and scriptural. But if 'the Essence of the Church of England, considered as such, consists in her Orders and Laws (many of which I myself can say nothing for) and not in her Worship and Doctrines,' those who separate from her have a far stronger plea than I was ever sensible of. At present I apprehend those, and those only, to separate from the Church, who either renounce her fundamental doctrines, or refuse to join in her public worship. As yet we have done neither: nor have we taken one step further than we were convinced was our bounden duty. It is from a full conviction of this that we have, 1. Preached abroad; 2. Prayed extempore; 3. Formed societies; and 4. Permitted preachers, who were not episcopally ordained. And were we pushed on this side; were there no alternative allowed, we should judge it our bounden duty, rather wholly to separate from the Church than to give up any one of these points. Therefore, if we cannot stop a separation without stopping lay preachers, the case is clear: we cannot stop it at all."

The foregoing letters show that grasp of absolutely fundamental points in debated questions, which is so marked a characteristic of Wesley. Was he not specially guided by God in this as a leader of men in religious thought and action?

A letter equally forcible in defence of lay preachers to Rev. T. Adam, dated Oct. 31st, 1755, will be found in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1779 p. 373. See also important letters to Rev. J. Clark, *Methodist Magazine*, 1779 p. 599, &c.

A letter of John Nelson, previously unpublished, dated March 4th, 1755, and written from Birstall, gives an account of his labours in the Newcastle round. It reveals the servant of God neglecting no duty, though afflicted with a most painful disease. The home life of a travelling preacher is brought into view, and Nelson's opinions on preaching and separation from the Church are candidly stated.

“To Rt. Mr. Charles Wesley, at ——— Esq., Lloyd’s, in
Devonshire Square, London.

Birstall, March 4th, 1755.

Dear Sir,

I received yours this morning, and it affords me great consolation, for I thought both you and your brother had forgotten me. I have been at Newcastle and in the Round 16 weeks, and the hand of God is stretched out for good both in town and country, but more especially at Alnwick, Gateside Fell, and Sunderland. I took nine fresh members into the society in one day, and there hath hardly been one week this winter but some one hath stepped into the pool in the North Riding. Several of the colliers at the Fell hath felt the precious blood of Christ applied this winter, and I never preached there since I went, but I took one or more into the society. They have enlarged the house, but they may pull down and build again if they increase as they have done lately. Br. Downes is weak in body, but I believe his heart is right with God, and that he is no weathercock. My soul hath been blessed in the North, but I have had two sore bouts of the gravel, yet, when I could neither eat nor sleep for near a fortnight together, I could preach as well as ever I could in my life, so that I never neglected preaching once for my affliction. I got home last Wednesday, but happened to a hurt on my knee by a horse running against me, near Leeds, so that I cannot bear to ride at present, but God orders all things well, for on Sunday his arm was bared amongst us in such a manner that some was struck to the ground, and one Magdalene that night was allowed to kiss the feet of Jesus. O Sir, join in prayer with us for her that she may stand, for such a brand was never plucked out of the burning in Birstall before. The work prospers in all our rounds, and many hath been converted here since I went, and others are stirred up to seek for mercy, for Br. Thos. Lee is a faithful labourer. He is a right old Methodist preacher, and the power of God attends his word, and I will assure you no other preaching will do in Yorkshire but the old sort, that comes like thunder-claps upon the conscience, for fine preaching doth more harm than good here. Br. Jones is here, he is very weak so that he is to attend to both day and night, and Williams is but poorly yet, so that my wife is hurried beyond her strength, for we have not had the house free from sick preachers these fifteen months; and without death, or a miracle of healing, I know not when it will be free. My wife hath lately had a pluriatic fever, but is much better, and our house is so taken up with sick preachers, and nurses to wait on them, that we have not room for the labouring preachers and our

own family, so that it is impossible for us to have any one to board with us, for when we had no sickness in the house, we had but just room for the preachers and the family. If we had had room we should be glad to oblige you and the gentleman, by receiving his brother into our house.

"Sir, I will assure you my heart is as your heart as concerning the Church, for by the help of God I hope to continue in the way wherein I was called. I heard some words dropped at Newcastle that made me uneasy, that some of our preachers had taken upon them to administer the sacrament in the South that was laymen, and they seemed to justify it, but I replied that if you and your brother allowed it, I would turn my back on you and all that join in that covenant; then I heard no more about it as long as I stayed in the North. Brother Shent told me about them as I came through Leeds, but he is entirely in my mind, that if we separate from the Church God will leave us, as He hath done all that hath separated before us. The work seems to be at a stand at Leeds, I hear, at present. Brother Jones is very strong in grace, though weak in body; he joins in love to you, so doth my wife. This with my best love to you and your dear wife; I beg an interest in your prayers, as you have in mine daily. From your unworthy brother in Christ, and son to serve in the gospel,

JOHN NELSON."

At the Conference of 1755, the appointment to the Haworth round was Wm. Grimshaw, John Nelson, and John Scholefield. Of the last we can find no record. Myles has the name of a James Scholefield, who that year commenced to travel, and was expelled in 1757. A letter to Charles Wesley, from Mixenden, shows Nelson rejoicing over souls safely garnered home.

"To the Rt. Mr. Charles Wesley, at the New Room, in the Horse Fair, in the City of Bristol.

4, Mixenden, in Haworth Round, June 26th, 1755.

Dear Sir,

I was from home when yours came to Birstall, but when I got it I went to Dewsbury and asked the questions you desired me, and her answer was, 'Give my duty to Mr. Wesley, and tell him that I am not engaged to any man by promise in the world.' She hath been out of health since you was here, but is got much better.

"We have had four triumphant deaths since you left Birstall. The first was Joseph Mann, who had been about six years in

the faith, and was very constant in all the means of grace as long as his health endured. But he had been in a consumption near two years, and he finished his race with joy. Brother Walker preached over his corpse, and many was stirred up by the word, that I hope will not rest till they are made partakers of the same grace that carried Brother Mann to the realms of light. The next day a woman, that lived about a mile off, that had but heard a little while, and scarce ever returned home from hearing the word but her husband beat her severely. In the time of sickness the Lord made himself known to her, so that she bore a noble testimony to all that came to see her as long as she lived. She desired a sermon to be preached over her corpse, under which her bloody husband was struck, and is become a constant hearer of the word ever since. The next was my own aunt, which had been in the faith near fourteen years. She was converted almost at my first coming into Yorkshire, and walked steadfastly in the ordinances, and was greatly supported under all her trials. She had a cruel husband to live with for ten years of the time, but God heard her prayer for him, so that he began to seek the Lord in the last year of his life, and we had great hope in his death. But she hath been a daughter of affliction, for she hath scarcely had one week's health these three years; so she hath endured both sickness, pain, and poverty, yet with so much patience to all outward appearance as if she had had neither pain nor want, and she finished her course with joy. I found the Lord present when I preached over her, and I believe there was a blessing among the people. The next was Brother Samuel Snell, the class leader of Churle, who was awakened at your first coming to preach at my house, and hath followed on ever since, and hath been zealous for the cause of God to his latest hour. Brother Tucker preached over his corpse. I think that we seldom bury one that dies in the faith, but we get two or three by preaching over them.

I am now in Mr. Grimshaw's Round, and I find my soul blessed in speaking to the people. All the preachers that I conversed with seemed to be more united in love than ever I saw them before, and I cannot say that I heard one of them speak one word in a contending way, but I hear that someone hath been contending with Mr. Baddiley, of Hayfield, in Derbyshire, since the Conference, and it hath given him great uneasiness, and I hear that there is great uneasiness amongst them of the Dissenting in Leeds, and that they are for separating from us and building a place for themselves. This is what I hear, but I have not been there lately. My kind love to your dear wife, and tell her

I hope she will have an interest in my prayers at all times, and my wife's too. I am glad to hear that my boy goes on well at the school. I desire you to give my kind love to Mrs. Anger and all her sisters, and all friends in that place. This with my best love and earnest prayers for you and yours, and all the Church of God, from yours, to service as a son in the gospel.

JOHN NELSON."

CHAPTER XV.

It is now necessary to deal with the provision made for public worship in Keighley.

The cottage of John Wilkinson was superseded by a chamber on Scott's premises in Low Street, which was rented and served as the Methodist preaching room until 1753. It was at the end of an old farm house with a large porch, and was reached by a flight of outside steps. When Scott's room was required by its owner, preaching services were held in the cottages of Jeremiah Carrodus and others: also in the barn of a Mr. Binns.

In 1753 Mr. Colbeck purchased part of the site on which Temple Street Chapel now stands, and appropriated a barn upon it to the use of the society, until the first chapel could be opened. During 1754 subscriptions were raised, and a preaching house was built, but held as private property by Mr. Colbeck until 1763, when it was conveyed by him to the following persons for the use of the Methodists for the sum of 5s., viz.:

Thos. Colbeck, of Keighley, Mercer and Grocer.

James Greenwood, of Braithwaite, Yeoman.

Jno. Horsfall, of Holme House, Yeoman.

John Booth, of Keighley, Innkeeper.

Samuel Sharpe, of Keighley, Mercer and Grocer.

Samuel Lawson, of Keighley, Clock Maker.

John Wilkinson, of Keighley, Shoe Maker.

Thos. Middlebrough, of Castle Field, Farmer.

Wm. Smith, of Keighley, Yeoman.

John Laycock, of Keighley, Stuff Maker.*

During the revival of 1764 this chapel was enlarged, and the adjoining premises fitted up as a residence for the ministers; or rather, perhaps, for the preacher's wife; the husband being engaged most of the year travelling the extensive round, of which Keighley was really the head. I remember that old house well. It was of the same form and size as the

* This last on the list of trustees was not a member of my family. This is definitely stated by the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson in a memoir of Rev. Thos. Laycock, in the magazine for 1835. He was a shaloon manufacturer, and a highly respected leader in society for many years. The chapel of 1755 was probably the fourth built in Yorkshire. Those having precedence were Birstall, 1750; Leeds, 1751; and Halifax, 1752.

present houses in Temple Row, adjoining the road leading from that street to the school. It had a door opening into the first chapel, and was occupied by the chapel keeper, James Sugden. James was a great stammerer in conversation, but when he prayed was as fluent as any ordinary man.

In 1777 the chapel was enlarged and continued in use until Eden Chapel was erected in 1810. After that date it was used for Sunday and day school purposes until 1846, when it was taken down that Temple Street Chapel might be built. I have distinct recollection of it, as one of the first day schools I attended was taught in it by Mr. John Gardiner, a former head master at Woodhouse Grove. A portion of its pulpit is used as the reading desk of Victoria Park Infant School-room.

One remarkable thing about this chapel was that it contained an organ. Mr. James Greenwood lent money for its purchase, and several items of payment in connection with it are found in the circuit book. It has been generally understood that no Methodist chapel was furnished with an organ during Mr. Wesley's life time, but as this organ was in the chapel from 1777 and Mr. Wesley preached in it so late as 1782, he must personally, and through his assistants, have known of its existence. I have reason to believe that it was the organ for many years in Temple Street Sunday School-room, and was sold to the Baptists of Cononley when the present Sunday school organ was built.

Thus half-a-century before the disruption caused by the Leeds organ, Mr. Wesley had sanctioned the use of such an instrument, and no record of disturbance has come down to us.

In the year 1756 the work of the round appears to have been largely done by Mr. Grimshaw, Jonathan Maskew, Wm. Greenwood, and Parson Greenwood. At the quarterly meeting on January 22nd, expenses connected with the Conference at Leeds of the previous year were paid, amounting to £2 2s. Jonathan Maskew receives for food and physic for his horse, one week, 7s. On April 22nd, horse charges £3 10s. 9d., and a new hat 5s. He appears to have been the only preacher clothed at the expense of the round. July 22nd, we have charged two shirts 13s., three cravats, 3s., pumps, 6s., stockings 3s. 6d. October 21st, coat £1 12s. 6d., stocks 4s. 9d., coat making 4s. 6d., gamashes 7s. 6d., charges to Sheffield, 2s. 6d.

Another letter of Grimshaw's to Mrs. Gallatin, belonging to this year, exhibits the warm friendship and practical sense of this man of God.

"Haworth, June 3rd, 1756.

Madam,

Mr. Charles tells me you complain that I have forgotten

you. I hope not. God forbid it. My long silence may induce you to think so, but I hope I can sincerely say, I never forgot you one day this five years or more in my poor addresses at the footstool of grace, neither will I so long as we are both on this side the grave. The truth is business and negligence have been the cause of my delay in writing. You'll excuse the one and pardon the other.

"I've your two last letters by me, I've this day looked them over again. In the former you give me an account of a nervous disorder which, at that time, you laboured under, and also an horrible dread overwhelming you, and the fear of death taking fast hold of you. This letter I think I've already answered. What I shall say more to it is said by this. It is no difficulty to judge of those terrors, as to the cause of them. They are not as you fear, of the Lord, any further than that He permits them for your good. The truth is their cause is partly corporeal and partly Satanical. Too great a relaxation of the nerves affects the mind with heaviness and pensiveness. Besides, such a relaxation is frequently attended with much wind in the stomach, costiveness, and dizziness in the head—all which, as it frequently happens, tends to the said heaviness of mind. Satan, who has doubtlessly great power over the body, fails not to improve such disorders to the purpose of exciting in the soul, doubts, fears, terrors, and sometimes despair. This I've frequently found true amongst religious people. But so soon as the nerves are restored to their natural tone, the wind dispelled, and the body kept open, the devil loses the materials he should work with, and all these horrors and terrors soon after vanish. I hope you have found it so before now, that you may know how to disappoint and manage the devil another time. Abstain from all diet that is hard of digestion, creates wind, and binds the body; use moderate exercise, drink no tea, rise early, sup early, watch and pray, and you will find your soul more drawn to God, faith and hope strengthened, and the whole frame of your soul cheerful and happy.

"Your other letter informs me that, blessed be the Lord, 'you are much better in your health than when you wrote the foregoing letter.' I am glad to hear it. May it long continue so to the glory of the Lord and the comfort of your soul. Take my simple but sincere advice above, together with such things as corroborate the same, and you shall be rarely troubled with these horrible thoughts. They will but be momentary,—appear and disappear like a flash of lightning. But you always receive and repel them with the deepest abhorrence and detestation, which, as it evidences the non-compliance of

the will, you are guilty of no sin thereby. God will never blame you. He will make the devil suffer for it. These horrid thoughts are his fiery darts, some of the effects of his malice. But they are marks, blessed be the Lord, of your belonging to the Lord. They will be apt to perplex you most in your religious exercises, in public or private prayer, or reading, and especially at the Lord's Table. But never regard them, never be discouraged. Receive the bread and wine into your mouth though it be in the very moment you feel a most blasphemous thought, or most heavy curse of God in your tongue—there is no danger or evil at all in it. A thousand such hellish injections in a day, or an hour, are not worth your notice. You say they are a burden to you, and so they are. But, dear madam, we must have a burden one way or another: and this the Lord permissively, but graciously, the devil actually, but maliciously, makes yours. We must go through manifold tribulations into the kingdom of glory—count it all joy. The Lord will outshoot the devil in his own bow at last. He's an excellent chemist. He can extract good out of every evil for the benefit of His saints. What is now grievous, says the Apostle, shall hereafter be joyous. I dare say, and that you shall one day own, to God's praise, that you had better (all things considered) bear them, than be without them. All things are made to work together for the good—says the Apostle—of them that love God. In patience, therefore, dear sister, possess your soul. Only keep close to every means of grace, fast, watch and pray diligently, and my Master will make you more than conqueror at the last.

"I wish my dear Major all health, much happiness of his new commission, and at the end a glorious heaven. My sincere respects to him. Times are likely to be perilous. No wonder, for iniquity abounds. The sword is drawn. O that, seeing God's judgments are out in the earth, the inhabitants of it may learn righteousness!

"In these parts, I hope, the Lord's work prospers. The harvest truly is great, but truly the labourers are few. Pray ye the Lord of this harvest to send forth more labourers thereinto. I keep preaching as usual, glory be to my Lord, and I hope not without a blessing to souls. Lord grant I may never faint. I hope I shall never let weakness, old age, or death invalidate me. By the grace of God, I'm resolved never to flag while I can ride, walk, creep, or crawl. I hope I shall not be long before I write again to you. Write soon. Sweet Jesus, my dear, dear, dear, very dear Master, bless you and my Major. Pray for me and I'll pray for you. I'm your sincere and very humble servant,

W. GRIMSHAW.

Excuse my rough hand if it be legible."

The wide radius affected by Whitefield's popularity is seen from an entry in C. Wesley's Journal of October 10th, 1756. "I came to Birstall before noon. My congregation was less by a thousand or two, through George Whitefield's preaching to-day at Haworth. Between four and five thousand were left to receive my warning from Luke xxi."

On Monday, 11th, a watch-night was held, which must have been a notable service, as C. Wesley, Whitefield, and Grimshaw, were all present. Wesley says, "It rained so hard that Mr. Whitefield was agreeably surprised at eight to find our house as full as it could cram. They forced me to preach first, which I did from Zech. xiii. 'The third part I will bring through the fire.' My brother George seconded me in the words of our Lord. 'I say unto all, Watch!' The prayers and hymns were all attended with a solemn power. Few, if any, I hope, went unawakened away.*

In a letter to the Countess of Huntingdon, dated Oct. 27th, 1756, Whitefield briefly refers to the occasion.

"I wrote you a few lines, not long ago, from Leeds. Since then, I have been in honest Mr. Grimshaw's and Mr. Ingham's rounds, preaching upon the mountains to many thousands. The sacrament at Mr. Grimshaw's was awful, and the watch-night at Leeds exceeding solemn."†

The Holy Spirit was at that time influencing the soul of a young man, Samuel Whitaker, who for sixty years, as a local preacher in the Keighley round, preached and lived the gospel. Through the preaching of the pioneers of Methodism, he tells us, that from the age of seventeen he had deep religious convictions, but that his "life was a compendium of sin and repentance, hope and fear." About the age of twenty-one, he says, "I was out of my apprenticeship, and promised myself much happiness in the common amusements of the place. There was to be a horse race on Harden Moor, near Bingley. My desire of participating in the pleasure was so very strong that I paid a poor man his wages to accompany me to the place, rather than miss the pastime. But on reaching the ground my disappointment was great. It is true I beheld three horses urged round the course in a cruel manner by their mad riders, and I felt stung with remorse for my sin and folly in attending such a scene of dissipation. On returning home I met a funeral, and heard the passing bell. The solemn knell vibrated through my guilty conscience, as if a voice from the eternal world had addressed me.

* Journal, ii-125.

† Tyerman's Whitefield, ii-384.

"A few weeks after this, I heard a young man, a Methodist preacher, was to preach in a field near Bradford. This attracted my curiosity, and I went, in company with others, to hear. On reaching the place we found a large company assembled, and the young man read for his text, Jno. ix., 33-34. I remember very little of the manner in which he treated his subject, but the Lord made a deep impression on my mind while hearing the discourse; and in returning home I was confounded with a view of my crimes and depravity. These humbling views led me, through grace, to break off all my sinful companions, and to resign myself to the service of the Lord, which resolution I have been enabled to keep unto the present period.

"The Sunday following it was published that the Rev. George Whitefield was expected to preach at Haworth Church, but the place being too small, a scaffold was set up in the yard, and he preached from Zech. ix., 12: 'Turn you to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope; even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto you.' I got among the crowd, nearly under the scaffold, and it was the most affecting time I ever experienced. He spoke as if he had been privy to all my thoughts, words, and actions, from the tenth year of my age. At the conclusion of this service he published his preaching at Leeds the day following, where I heard him; and the day after I attended his ministry at Bradford; after which I returned home on the Tuesday evening."

Then follows the relation of experiences which well illustrate the trials of those who at that time decided for Christ. "On reaching home, I met with a trying circumstance. My mother and sister wept over me incessantly, and used every argument in their power to withdraw me from this gloomy fit of melancholy into which they supposed me fallen. And as I was just entering on the world, they concluded that my being connected with the Methodists, whom they regarded as the filth and offscouring of all things, my ruin was inevitable, and I should be a vagrant in the earth. And on reaching my master's, he met me with a frown, and discharged me from his house and employment, having supplied my place with another man. Thus I had to go in search of work. While in pursuit of labour I met with a darling pleasure, viz., an otter hunt, nor could I refrain from the sport for some time. But the Divine hand interposed, and I was enabled to abandon the folly, and returned home, being unsuccessful in obtaining work. On going to my master's for the purpose of removing my tools and clothes, he was more friendly, and said that if I would promise to settle and attend my labour, and not leave without proper notice, I might go to work. I gladly embraced the offer.

I could not say that my sins were forgiven till February in 1758, when I was working at a certain place, and by a tempest of rain was obliged to take shelter in the house of a neighbour, and as I sat musing I felt a strong desire to withdraw to the stable for the purpose of prayer. Here I wrestled with God in a sort of agony, and before I rose from my knees I felt a degree of blessed comfort and peace in my heart which, till that moment, I had never experienced; and that Jesus Christ shed His love abroad in my heart, as certainly as ever He was born of the virgin, by applying this passage of the Sacred Word, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' "

A year following, S. Whitaker began to preach, and continued to do so with great acceptance until near the conclusion of his long life.

At the age of twenty-six he married and settled in Keighley. He brought up a family of seven children in the fear of the Lord, was the leader of flourishing classes, and maintained an unblemished character until the year 1816, when, in great peace, he passed away in the eighty-second year of his age.

The grace of God and his guiding hand on John Wesley saved lay preaching, as the following letters will show. Conference was approaching, and Charles wrote from Bristol to the Rev. S. Walker, of Truro, on August 2nd, 1756:—

"Rev. and Dear Sir,

My brother is coming hither to a Conference with his preachers. Another letter from you might, by the blessing of God, confirm him in his calling. He seems resolved to temporise with them no longer. Mr. Grimshaw is coming to strengthen his hands. We shall have a private Conference before the general one.

"I should have broken off from the Methodists and my brother in 1752 but for the agreement." (This was a document signed March 16th, 1752, by John and Charles Wesley, John Downes, William Shent, John Jones, and Jno. Nelson, one clause of which was, 'Never to leave the Communion of the Church of England without the consent of all whose names are subjoined.')

"I think every preacher should sign that agreement, or leave us. What I desire of my brother is: 1. That the unsound, unrecoverable preachers should be let depart just now. 2. That the wavering should be confirmed, if possible, and established in their calling. 3. That the sound ones should be received into the strictest union and confidence, and, as soon as may be, prepared for orders."

To this letter Mr. Walker replied, August 16th, 1756. He

saw, as John Wesley saw, that lay preaching could not be made to harmonise with the ecclesiastical claims of an Episcopal Church, and good man though he was, like Charles Wesley, felt prepared to advise and act in a manner that would have destroyed such a ministry.

He says, "Lay preachers, being contrary to the constitution of the Church of England, are, as far as that point goes, a separation from it. It is quite another question whether lay preachers be agreeable to the appointment of the Spirit respecting the ministry. The matter is not whether lay preachers be needful, or what their calling may be. Be the one and the other as it will, the thing is plainly inconsistent with the discipline of the Church of England; and so, in one essential point, setting up a church within her, which cannot be of her. When, therefore, it is asked, shall we separate from the Church of England? it should rather be asked, shall we make the separation we have begun a separation in all forms? And if we do not think ourselves allowed to do this, shall we unite with her? We do not, unless lay preaching is laid aside."

He then proposes a scheme, the result of which would be the ordination of such as might be thought fit for orders, and the reduction of the rest to overseers of the societies, not allowed to preach.

To this Charles replied, August 21st, 1756: "Lay preaching, it is allowed, is a partial separation, and may, but *need* not, end in a total one. The probability of it has made me tremble for years past, and kept me from leaving the Methodists. I stay not so much to do good, as to prevent evil. I stand in the way of my brother's violent counsellors, the object of both their fear and hate.

"The regulations you propose are the same in substance which I have long been contending for in vain. I know my brother will not hear of laying aside his lay preachers in so many words."

When John Wesley arrived, Mr. Walker's letter was considered, and he wrote a wise reply, which may be found at full length in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1799, p. 644. The substance of his answer to Mr. Walker's plan of locating preachers is contained in the following quotation: "Be their talents ever so great, they will, ere long, grow dead themselves, and so will most of those that hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I ever believe it was ever the will of our Lord, that any congregation should have one teacher only. We have found, by long and constant experience, that a frequent change of teachers is best. This

preacher has one talent, that another. No one, whom I ever knew, has all the talents which are needed for beginning, continuing, and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation.

"And here is another difficulty still: What authority have I to forbid their doing what I believe God has called them to do? I apprehend, indeed, that there ought, if possible, to be both an outward and inward call to this work; yet, if one of the two be supposed wanting, I had rather want the outward than the inward call. I rejoice that I am called to preach the gospel both by God and man. Yet, I acknowledge, I had rather have the Divine without the human, than the human without the Divine call."*

On October 16th, 1756, Charles Wesley concluded a visit to Bradford, and tells us that he "rode with faithful Thomas Colbeck to Keighley. I found at four a large, handsome room well filled. I did my office as a watchman, and delivered my own soul. Mr. Grimshaw assisted at the society. I recommended family religion with all my might. For near an hour and a half the cloud stayed on the assembly.

"Sunday, October 17th. We had no room to spare at six in the morning, while I commended them to God, and to the word of His grace. I preached a second time at Haworth (Mr. Grimshaw reading prayers) from Psalm xlvii., 8: 'O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what destruction He hath wrought in the earth. He maketh wars to cease in all the world, &c.' My mouth was open to declare the approaching judgments, and the glory which shall follow, when the Lord is exalted in all the earth. The church, which hath lately been enlarged, could scarce contain the congregation, who seemed all to tremble at the threatenings, or rejoice in the promises of God.

"We had a blessed number of communicants, and the Master of the feast in the midst. I prayed and exhorted afterwards. Our hearts were lifted up to meet Him in His glorious Kingdom.

"After an hour's interval we met again, as many as the church walls could contain; but twice the number stood without, till the prayers were over. Then I mounted a scaffold, and, lifting up my eyes, saw the fields white unto the harvest. We had prayed for a fair day, and had the petitions we asked. The churchyard, which will hold thousands, was quite covered. God gave me a voice to reach them all. I warned them of those things which shall come to pass, and warmly pressed them to private, family, and public prayer; enlarged on the glorious

* *Methodist Magazine*, 1779-644.

consequences thereof, even deliverance from the last plagues, and standing before the Son of Man. I concluded, and began again, for it was an accepted time. I do not remember when my mouth has been more opened, or my heart more enlarged.

"A young preacher of Mr. Ingham's (Mr. Allen) came to spend the evening with me at Mr. Grimshaw's. I found great love for him, and wished all *our* sons in the gospel were equally modest and discreet.

"Monday, October 18th. He accompanied us to Heptonstall, where I preached at ten, on Isa. xlv, 5, 'In these is continuance, and we shall be saved.' I was very faint when I began; the more plainly did it appear that the power was not of man, but of God. I warned them of the wiles of the devil, whereby he would draw them away from the Church, and the other means of grace. I spake as the oracles of God, and God gave testimony, bowing the hearts of all present, except a few bigoted Baptists. We went on our way rejoicing to Ewood. There the rain cut short my discourse on Ezek. ix. Mr. Allen could not leave us yet, but rode with us next morning (Tuesday, October 19th) as far as Gawksholm. I stood on a scaffold at the foot of a *Welsh* mountain, having all the people in front, and called, 'Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!' The word was as a two-edged sword. I talked largely with Mr. Grimshaw how to remedy the evil wrought by separatists. We agreed: 1. That nothing can save the Methodists from falling a prey to every seducer but close walking with God, in all the commandments and ordinances, especially the word and prayer, private, family, and public; 2. That the preachers should be allowed more time in every place, to visit from house to house, after Mr. Baxter's manner; 3. That a small treatise be written, to ground and preserve them against seducers, and lodged in every family."*

The last remedy was provided in part by John Wesley that year in "*Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England*," but not published until 1758, in which year also Jno. Wesley issued a larger collection of tracts dealing with all the controversies that had disturbed his people under the title of "*A Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion*."

Grimshaw accompanied Charles Wesley to Bolton, in Lancashire, but returned on the 21st. He says, "I parted with my right hand, my brother and bosom-friend Mr. Grimshaw."

On October 21st, 1756, Sowerby (Bridge) first appears in the accounts as contributing 12s. 2d. by John Barnes, who receives at the same meeting for goods 4s. 5d., and for four dinners 2s. 6d. From this we may infer there was no one at

* C. W. Journal, 2-128.

Sowerby able, or willing, to provide the preachers with dinner.

The following places appear in 1757 in the Circuít Book:—

"Apr. 21st Carr, &c., by John Heape	10s. 6d.
„ Stainland, &c., by Jas. Oddie	7s. 6d.
Oct. 20th Hoylden Water, &c.	1 1 0
„ Haworth, &c.	16 0
„ Broad Clough, &c.	5 7"

At the Bristol Conference of 1756, James Oddie was appointed to the Haworth round. Jonathan Maskew was the other preacher chiefly chargeable to the round. It provided him with a waistcoat 21s. 3d., stockings 12s. 9d. necessaries 21s. and toward buying a horse £4 0 0.

Of the state of the Circuit then, we have information in Grimshaw's letter to Lee of July 21st, 1757. "Here, I hope, things go pretty well. How go they where you have been? Our congregations have been for some time, and still are in several places of this round, large. Several souls are added, and some are seemingly just awaking. James Oddie and Jonathan Maskew have been our preachers for some time. James is gone to Conference, and Jonathan, if he recover not, will shortly go to heaven."

CHAPTER XVI.

JAMES ODDIE, like Darney and the two Greenwoods, is one of the very earliest preachers, of whom only a brief biography in Atmore's *Memorial* remains. Yet, as we shall see, he was a man worthy to be remembered, and very closely connected with the Keighley round in the later years of his life. He was born in 1730 or 1731, at a farm-house named Dudland, in the parish of Gisburn, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is not known when or how he became acquainted with the Methodists, but it is said that he was converted to God in early life, and soon began to preach the gospel. Mr. Myles enters him in his list as a preacher from 1746 to 1771. This is a mistake, as he would then be only sixteen years of age, and his name is not mentioned in any of the Minutes of Conference or other Methodist books until 1755. The Rev. Jon. Edmondson says he was a preacher about nineteen years, and as he retired in 1771, it is therefore probable that he became a local preacher in 1752.

Mr. Atmore says, "Oddie came out to travel in the Methodist Connection when the work was in its infancy," and he undoubtedly had to do with the formation of early rounds, such as those of Leeds and Haworth. "He was a remarkably sensible man of deep piety, and of considerable talents for the work of the ministry. For many years he was a burning and shining light, and seemed wholly devoted to God and the service of the sanctuary. He appeared at that time a very serious, heavenly, and spiritual man, and was eminently useful in the hand of the Lord."

While in the Haworth round Oddie was the instrument, under God, of inducing John Pawson to join the Methodist society, who afterward became one of the most holy and eminent of the early preachers, and was elected President of the Conference in 1793. In his autobiography Pawson says, "In June of 1758 I went to a feast at Askwith, with no other design but to get an opportunity to hear the Methodists. It happened to be the yearly meeting of the Quakers that day, and I went and heard a woman speak for more than an hour, but could not understand her at all. This was the first time I ever was in a Dissenting meeting of any kind. I went the same evening to Otley, and heard Mr. James Oddie preach an excellent sermon

from Acts xiii., 38, 'Be it known unto you men and brethren that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins.' I was very much surprised to observe the serious and devout behaviour of the people, whom I had so much despised, and was highly delighted with the singing. But the discourse delivered from the pulpit with such a heavenly solemnity, quite astonished me. I was permitted to stay the society meeting, and was obliged to conclude that if the people paid any regard to the excellent instructions given them, they must be patterns of piety and godliness. Here it was that the Lord fixed a resolution in my heart, to seek and to serve Him, which, through His infinite mercy and love, has continued to this day, and which, I doubt not, will abide with me for ever."

Oddie attended the Conference held in London, 1757, at a cost to the Haworth round of £2 2s. We have no account of this Conference save the brief sentence in Mr. Wesley's Journal, August 4 to 11, "From the first hour to the last there was no jarring string, but all was harmony and love."

On October 19th, 1758, there is a joint charge upon the round, by Messrs. Coates and Oddies, of £2 17s. 10³/₄d., doubtless their Conference expenses. It was held that year in Bristol, and both were present, as also Mr. Colbeck, so that Keighley had three representatives.

About 1755 John Nelson visited the neighbourhood of Lower Darwen, and made a deep and permanent impression. Among his converts were a farmer, named Haworth, and his three brothers. James Oddie followed, and in 1758 commenced a class, consisting of the four just mentioned and eight others. They met in a house at a place called "Th' top o'th' Coal Pits," the first leader being James Clegg. This was the beginning of the Methodist society in that part of Lancashire.*

As Nelson, in a letter already given, tells us that he was in 1755 labouring in Mr. Grimshaw's round, and James Oddie was certainly one of its preachers in 1758, it is proved that Darwen was included at that time in the circuit.

When travelling in the Leeds circuit in 1760, after leaving the Haworth round, where he had laboured two years, Oddie wrote thus to John Wesley, May 4th, "The Lord Jesus is the desire of my heart and the object of my affections at all times. He many times carries my spirit, all my powers and affections, up unto Himself without any sensible effort of my own, and fixeth them in God, their proper centre. Sometimes I find a silent stillness, the region of the soul inconceivably calm, and all attention to an indwelling and inspeaking God: then I could keep always at the feet of Christ, and weep my life away. . . .

* Jessop's *Rossendale*, p 140.

The mediatorial undertaking of my Lord is never so precious unto me as at such seasons. Though there is not a power in my soul, nor a thought in my heart, as far as I know, which thwarts the will of God, yet I never see so clearly as then what need I have of the death of Jesus. My obedience is not, by far, as broad as the commandment; for this I need His precious blood. I feel my soul as helpless as an infant of days; for this I need His power. I conceive an infinite number of snares laid for me, for the avoiding of which I need His wisdom. I find myself a tender and weakly branch, far from maturity, for which I need the sap and nourishment of the blessed vine, into which I feel myself engrafted; yea Christ is all in all to me. I only desire, that I and others may be more and more conformed unto, and dependent upon, Christ."

After the Conference of 1757 Oddie was joined in the round by Alex. Coates. Mr. Coates was born in North Britain, and made a partaker of the grace of God when very young. He entered the ranks of the Methodist Itinerancy in the year 1741.

Coates appears to have had some doubts respecting Christian perfection, possibly through Darney, who on this subject did not agree with the Wesleys, and influenced Grimshaw and others. He received from Wesley, July 7th, 1761, a characteristic letter, which reveals to us Wesley's estimate of the man, and his faithful and wise treatment of the early preachers. Wesley says, "I advise you, 1st. If you are willing to labour with us, preach no doctrine contrary to ours. I have preached twenty times in some of Mr. Whitefield's societies; yet, to this day, I never contradicted him among his own people. I did not think it honest, neither necessary at all. I could preach salvation by faith, and leave all controversy untouched. I advise you, 2. Avoid all those strong rhetorical exclamations, 'O horrid! O dreadful!' and the like, unless you are strongly exhorting sinners to renounce the devil and all his works. 3. Acquaint yourself better with the doctrine we preach, and you will find it not dreadful, but altogether lovely. 4. Observe, that if forty persons think and speak wrong, either about justification or sanctification (and perhaps fancy they have attained both) this is no objection to the doctrines themselves. They must bear their own burden. But this does not at all affect the point in question. 5. Remember, as sure as you are, that 'believers cannot fall from grace,' others (wise and holy men too) are equally sure they can; and you are as much obliged to bear with them as they are to bear with you. 6. Abstain from all controversy in public. Indeed, you have not a talent for it. You have an honest heart, but not a clear head. Practical

religion is your point; therefore, 7. Keep to this: repentance toward God, faith in Christ, holiness of heart and life, a growing in grace and in the knowledge of Christ, the continual need of His atoning blood, a constant confidence in Him, and all these every moment to our life's end. In none of these will any of our preachers contradict you, or you them. When you leave this plain path, and get into controversy, then they think you 'invade the glories of our adorable King, and the unspeakable rights, and privileges, and comforts of His children;' and can they then tamely hold their peace? O, Sander, know the value of peace and love!

I am, your affectionate Brother,

J. WESLEY."

Coates did not allow Wesley's letter to settle his scruples. He wrote to his father in the gospel again on July 14th and September 29th, 1761, expressing his belief that he would be sanctified just before death; and that meanwhile it was his "duty and privilege to persevere in grace;" and confesses that the believers in Perfection gave him small satisfaction. He had also been tempted by offers in Leeds and London to leave the Methodists, but had no intention of doing so. Coates, as his letters show, was a good man, with great courage and independency of thought; but though he read several languages, he was without mental discipline.*

The account, which was transmitted to Mr. Wesley, of the death of the good man, by one who was in the house when he died, is as follows:—"I had the opportunity the last evening of seeing our dear aged brother Coates (at that time the oldest preacher in the Connexion). A few days before he was sorely tempted by the enemy, but near the close he had perfect peace. His faith was clear, and he found Christ precious,—his portion and his eternal all. I asked him a little before he expired 'if he had followed cunningly devised fables'? He answered, 'No, no, no'! I then asked him 'whether he saw land'? He said, 'Yes, I do.' And after waiting a few minutes at anchor, he put into the quiet harbour."

John Wesley was among the societies of this round in the year 1757. He says: "May 18th, I rode in the afternoon from Halifax over the huge, but extremely pleasant and fruitful, mountain to Heptonstall. A large congregation was waiting for us, not only on the ground, but on the tops of the neighbouring houses. But no scoffer or trifler was seen among them. It rained in the adjoining valley all or most of the time that I was preaching; but it was fair with us on the

*Tyerman's *Wesley*, 2-414.

top of the mountain. What an emblem of God's taking up His people into a place of safety while the storm falls on all below!

"Here I was informed of the earthquake the day before. On Tuesday, May 17th, many persons in several parts, within five or six miles, heard a strange noise under the ground, which some compared to thunder, others to the rumbling of carts. Quickly after they felt the earth rock under them, and wave to and fro. Many who were within doors heard their pewter and glass clatter, and all agreed as to the time, though they knew nothing of each other's account. Thursday, 19th, I preached at Ewood about seven, not intending to preach again till the evening; but Mr. Grimshaw begged I would give them one sermon at Gawksham, after which we climbed up the enormous mountain, I think equal to any I saw in Germany, on the brow of which we were saluted by a severe shower, which a high wind drove full in our faces, almost till we came to Haslingden. Here I learned that the earthquake observed near Heptonstall had been sensibly felt by many persons from Bingley to the neighbourhood of Preston. Friday, 20th, I preached near Padiham at eight to a large wild congregation; about noon at Roughlee, where those who stood firm in the storm had melted away in the calm. At Keighley I had neither voice nor strength left, but while I was preaching my strength returned."

The next day, Saturday, 21st, Wesley says:—"I had a little conference with our preachers." This must have been a gathering of such as could be brought together from the North for spiritual intercourse and stimulus. Such was largely the character of the conferences of that period. It would probably have nothing to do with stationing or organisation. On this occasion Wesley appears to have paid his first visit to Bingley. He says respecting the afternoon of May 21st:—"I preached at Bingley. I have not lately seen so genteel a congregation: yet the word of God fell heavy upon them." This indicates that Methodism had been introduced into that town and awakened interest there. Certainly the warm-hearted local preachers of Keighley could not neglect a town which at that time was the most populous place in the round after Keighley, on its Yorkshire side. The conversion of Jonathan Maskew, a Bingley man, and of Thos. Mitchell, a supposed native of Morton Banks, shows that Methodism was at work in the neighbourhood; and they were not the men to allow Bingley to remain outside the places visited by the preachers in the round, and their zealous superintendent, Grimshaw.

Richard Burdsall, of York, tells us that being at Eldwick on a visit, he was invited to hear Mr. Grimshaw at Bingley next

day. He says, "At this invitation my heart glowed within me, and burned with desire until the time came. The next day happened to be New Year's Day, new style, and a very stormy, snowy day it proved. When we got to the place I trembled so much with the cold, that I thought it would be impossible for me to bear it long. The place of worship was a barn, which had been fitted up for the purpose, with deal seats and pulpit. The very appearance of the congregation was pleasing to me. After waiting for a short time, a broad-set, sharp-looking little man appeared, habited as a layman, and buttoned up from the storm. Having quickly loosed his garments, in a moment he was in the pulpit, and giving out a hymn; the people sung like thunder. His voice in prayer seemed to me as it had been the voice of an angel. After prayer, he took a little bible out of his pocket, and read the following words for his text: 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward men.' " The precise date of this visit is not given, but from other statements in Burdsall's Journal, it appears to have been about 1753. It is not known in what barn Grimshaw preached.*

The first Methodist meeting place in Bingley was a blacksmith's shop which stood on Elm Tree Hill. The next place was a large room over a block of buildings which occupied the site where the first chapel was erected. David Waibank, a well-known old Methodist, related that while fitting up this room, he overheard some of the members express great anxiety as to how the rent was to be raised, although only 30s. a year.

Methodism prospered, and we find that after a few years' occupation, the property was purchased, and the whole turned into a chapel, probably about 1790.† Bingley is not mentioned in the circuit book until 1764. From this it would appear that the society was either too poor to contribute to the circuit funds, or used the class money for rent and other local purposes.

Mary Wilkinson, another old Methodist, stated that her great grandfather, Jonathan Gott, who lived in a house under the preaching room, prior to the building of the first chapel, had a room in his house set apart for the use of the preachers when they came to this town. This statement is supported by an entry in the circuit book, October 22nd, 1767. "To Bingley society for eight yards of drill that was bought for a bed, 8s. 6d." From an old plan of 1802, it appears that the preacher took service at Keighley and Bingley on the same day, and slept at the latter place.

* Ward's *Bingley*.

† See Myles.

In the first Bingley chapel would worship several old Methodists, worthy to be had in remembrance;—such as Benj. Wilkinson, a simple-hearted, zealous, good old pilgrim, who died in the parish workhouse, and found a pauper's grave; but at whose funeral the streets were crowded by those who wished to do him honour; while the singers of the chapel sang a solemn hymn of praise, until they entered the precincts of the parish church, where, as Methodists, they were allowed to sing no longer. Another Bingley Methodist, belonging to about the same period, was Joseph Pickles, who died at the age of ninety-five, in 1829, after being a Methodist sixty-five years; leaving behind him seven children, seventy-three grandchildren, one hundred and seventy-nine great-grandchildren, and fifty-three great-great-grandchildren, in all three hundred and nine surviving descendants, exclusive of one hundred and one others who died before him, a total progeny of four hundred and ten.*

Sunday, May 22nd, Wesley says, "After preaching at five (probably in Keighley), I took horse for Haworth. A December storm met us upon the mountain; but this did not hinder such a congregation as the church could not contain. I suppose we had near a thousand communicants, and scarce a trifler among them. In the afternoon, the church not containing more than a third of the people, I was constrained to be in the church-yard. The rain began as soon as I began to speak; but they regarded it not; for God sent into their hearts

‘ The former and the latter rain,
The love of God, and love of man.’ ”

During the next two days, Wesley reached the northern extremity of the round. His rides illustrate the heavy strain of his labours. "Monday, 23rd, I took horse at four. It rained till noon without any intermission, and we had heavy showers in the afternoon; however, we reached Ambleside in the evening. Tuesday, 24th, we rode by Keswick to Whitehaven. Within a few miles of the town, I was so tired that I could scarce either ride or walk; but all weariness was gone before I had preached a quarter of an hour."

In the year 1758, the following places for the first time contributed to the funds of the round:

"Elland, 10s. 9d; Colne, 5s; Lawnde, near Burnley, by Wm. Parker, 10s. 6d.; Warley Clough, by James Crosby, 8s. 6d; Gisburn, by Parson Greenwood, 4s.; Longwood Edge, by Jas. Oddie, 19s." The payments of this year are peculiar. For the first time we find definite sums given to preachers, without dis-

* Tyerman, 2-411.

inction made between travelling and local preachers, in the first three quarters. In the fourth, five preachers receive exactly the same sum as the two travelling preachers, Messrs Coates and Oddie.

“Jany. 19th, 1758

7 Preachers, 18s. a piece	6 6 0
and John Coates 2s. 3d.	

April 20th, 1758

Paid to the Preachers	7 10 7
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July 20th 1758

To the 7 preachers 18s. Ea.... ..	6 6 2
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The two pence added.

Oct. 19th 1758

To 5 Preachers equally	2 17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
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„ Alex. Coates and Jas. Oddie	2 17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
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Who the seven preachers were we may to some extent conjecture. Certainly the following were of the number:—Alexander Coates, James Oddie, Jonathan Maskew, Parson Greenwood, John Wilkinson. Titus Knight and Thomas Colbeck might complete the number, but the last was probably too generous to take money for service rendered to his Lord. The labours of the local preachers in those days, when their number was so small, were very great. In general they were employed every Lord's Day; on which they occasionally rode, but more frequently walked, from twenty to thirty miles, and preached two or three times; with very poor fare from friends, and occasionally much opposition and insult from enemies. Yet, animated by the love of Christ and souls, they cheerfully sacrificed ease, and domestic enjoyments, and were comparatively regardless of either wind, rain, snow, or hail. One of these men of God, who for sixty-five years had laboured as a local preacher, was never known to disappoint a congregation on account of weather, unless the waters were unfordable, or the roads absolutely impassable. His faithfulness was so universally known, that no congregation ever feared a disappointment when he was expected.

In the Minutes of Conference for 1758, we are brought again face to face with Wm. Darney, by the following question: “Can we receive W. Darney?” The answer given was: “Not till we are fully assured that he does not rail, print, or sell wares without a license.”

To understand this matter it will be necessary to look at Darney's publications, and the circumstances arising out of their issue.

In 1755, Darney published a book, entitled, “The Fundamental Doctrines which are contained in the Holy Scriptures.”

Printed by Archibald McLean, of Glasgow. The book certainly furnishes abundant ground for complaint as to illiteracy, railing, and doubtful doctrine. It is very evident that Darney leaned towards Calvinism, and wished to teach some of its tenets privately. He also exhibits divergence of opinion from Wesley, on holiness, and contends in his book vehemently for liberty to propagate his views, and associate with those holding them. He evidently could not see that Wesley was in duty bound to defend the truths he held, and to preserve the peace of his societies by discouraging controversy, and at times putting it down with a firm hand.

Darney's preaching and his book combined, appear to have subjected him to discipline, probably at the Conference of 1755, for his name does not occur in the list of itinerant and local preachers from that date to 1758. He did not submit without remonstrance, as we gather from a letter which John Wesley wrote on September 3rd, 1756, to a Mr. Norton.

He says, "Last week I had a long letter from Wm. Darney, who likewise wonders we should be of so persecuting a spirit, as to deny him the liberty of thinking and speaking in our societies according to his own conscience. How will you answer him and excuse Ted and Charles Perronet from the charge of persecuting their brother? They then said (as did all), 'Let him preach Calvinism elsewhere (we have no right to hinder him); but not among us, because we are persuaded it would do much hurt.'"

Later in the same letter he quotes Darney as saying, "'My crime is that I would preach Christ, as His word, His Spirit, and my own conscience teach me.' But he has far more ground for complaint than you; for we ourselves separated him from us.*"

During the interval of his suspension, it is very probable that he would resume his calling of a pedlar, on the ground where he was best known,—the borders of Lancashire and West Yorkshire. He might fail to obtain a licence from the hope of early reinstatement in the ranks of Wesley's preachers. Grimshaw felt kindly toward him, and his letter to Newcastle implies that he did not silence him. Also a payment of 2s. 3d. which he receives on April 20th, 1758, for horse-shoeing in the Haworth round, shows that he was there in the early part of that year.

In a letter from Haworth, October 18th, 1758, addressed to "The Christian Brethren in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and elsewhere in the North," Grimshaw says concerning Darney,—
 "Brother Darney's labours have been useful in these parts; may

they be blessed among you." Darney left the Haworth round in 1758, and it is highly probable that in the year 1759 he was labouring in the Dales circuit, which was formed in 1757 out of the Leeds circuit, which up to that time took in the whole of Yorkshire east of Leeds, and extended north to New-castle. Barnard Castle was the circuit town of the Dales, and Swaledale, Wensleydale, Teesdale, Weardale, Allandale, Alston, and Halhamshire, formed the new circuit. Darney seems to have been assisting Jacob Rothwell in the formation of the circuit.

Darney was well remembered and spoken of by the old Methodists of the circuit as one that occupied a prominent position in the early days of Methodism in the locality. The probabilities are strengthened by the fact that the Rev. W. Grimshaw preached at Barnard Castle about this time, which coincides exactly with what he had said in the letter of October 18th, 1758, addressed to brethren "elsewhere in the North." "I understand by Brother Darney, the bearer hereof, that you entertained an expectation of my visiting your parts this summer; and indeed, for some time, I warmly purposed the same: but may I not say, that though man purposes, yet the Lord disposes. It has so fallen out that I could not conveniently come. The same ardent desire, that at times, for years past, I have had of visiting the North, still abides; and therefore who knows, but I may see you, the Lord willing, next summer?"

The difficulties were so far removed as to enable Grimshaw to reach Barnard Castle, and probably the other places he wished to visit. Writing to Mr. G. Merryweather, of Yarm, on June 22nd, 1759, he says:
"Dear Brother,

Grace, mercy, and peace, be to you from our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. I am sorry I have no more leisure to write a longer letter to you, being in haste to set out to meet Mr. Whitefield, who, God willing, preaches here both forenoon and afternoon of Sunday next. My journey into the North was quite agreeable to myself; may it prove profitable to the souls of many! To the Lord be the glory! Whether I may have the pleasure to visit you again this season, I dare not certainly say, as I have various parts to visit this summer. This, however, I shall be better able to determine at the Conference." No particulars of this visit can be ascertained beyond the fact that he proclaimed his message in the open air, very near the old meeting-house, on what was then a common, and called the Crook. It would, we are sure, be a great occasion for Darney. His friend, so steadfast, so devoted,

now known throughout the kingdom, and held in such high esteem by the Wesleys, would be welcomed as an apostle by him, and by the people who had received the word. This visit also shows the vast field of Grimshaw's labours. The Dales circuit involved immense toil, requiring the travelling of about four hundred miles to complete the round.

That Darney did go to Newcastle, despite Wesley's adverse opinion of him, shielded by Grimshaw's testimonial, is evident from the following letter written by Wesley to Matthew Lowes, at the Orphan House, Newcastle.

“ London, September 8th, 1761.

My Dear Brother,

If local preachers who differ from us will keep their opinions to themselves, then they may preach in our societies; otherwise they must not. And upon this condition, we are all willing to receive William Darney into connection with us.”

Wesley evidently intended Matthew Lowes to travel in the Haworth round, as the remainder of the letter shows. The circuit book however has no entry of payment made to him. He might go to Whitehaven and be supported by that section of the round, or fail to comply with Wesley's wishes, as was the case in several instances of conference appointments being changed; thus causing the circuit records to be the only reliable authority. It will also be found later in the history, that Whitehaven strongly resented the appointment of married preachers. The letter goes on to say: “The sooner you set out for Whitehaven the better. The society there need not be frightened at a married preacher, considering we have paid forty pounds of their debt out of the collection. And if the expense for wives be too heavy, I will help them out. Do all you can to propagate the books in that circuit, and to fulfil the office of an assistant.

I am, with love to sister Lowes,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.”*

The following, taken from an old Moravian document, refers to this period of the circuit's history.

“The Methodists began to preach in Baildon. The Rev. Mr. Highton, at that time curate of Baildon, was hostile to both Brethren and Methodists. He once invited the colliers to seize the preachers under the bank, as they were coming (by the old road to Shipley), and to put them into the pond. The Methodist preacher (W. Darney), known by the name of

* Wesley Historical Society, Vol. 2-125.

Scotch Will, experienced violence at their hands, but Bro. J. Isles escaped uninjured."* Baildon appears in the circuit book for the first time in 1760, confirming the supposition that Methodism was introduced from 1758 to 1760.

However defective in language and delivery some of the first Methodist preachers might be, in the choice of pulpit themes they have scarcely been equalled in any age. To convert sinners was their business, and they kept it in view with singular steadiness of purpose. They were equally zealous in building up the souls saved through their instrumentality.

What are only doctrines, or debateable opinions, with many modern preachers, were realities in the beliefs of our fathers, and powerfully influenced their own lives, and their treatment of men and public questions.

Mr. Wesley, in a letter to Lady Huntingdon, written in March, 1759, bears this testimony to the first labourers in the great revival. "I have found great satisfaction in conversing with those instruments whom God has lately raised up. But still there is I know not what in them whom we have known from the beginning, and who have borne the burden and heat of the day, which we do not find in those who have risen up since, though they are upright of heart. Perhaps, too, those who have but lately come into the harvest are led to think and speak more largely of justification, and the other first principles of the doctrine of Christ. And it may be proper for *them* to do so. But *we* find a thirst after something farther."†

Was it that the first preachers were more directly called by the Spirit of God, and tested by the persecution to which they were subjected?

I insert a letter written this year to Mr. Charles Wesley, by John Nelson, containing an account of happy deaths, and a vivid picture of a Methodist preacher's straightened circumstances most bravely borne.

" Birstall, March 17th, 1758.

Dear Sir,

This is with my best love to you and your dear companion, and earnest prayer for you and your son. May God make him His son and raise him up to stand in the gap when you are called to take up your place above. I am glad to hear from you, but I have been abroad two months. I have been quite through Manchester round, and several received the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins, while I was in the round, and some just before I went; and I have received a letter from Congleton that tells me that two found peace soon after I left

*December 9th, 1781, letter from T. H. Hines, Baildon, to W. Jessop.

†Life of Lady Huntingdon, 1-399.

the town. I believe the work goes on about Birstall by what I hear, but I have not been in the round yet. I met your brother at Epworth, and the people flocked to hear from every quarter. There hath been a great famine of the word in these parts. We have had four that died in the Lord since I wrote to you before. One of them lies dead now, and I am to preach over her corpse to-morrow. It is about fifteen years since she first knew the Lord, and I have had much acquaintance with her ever since. In the former part of her illness she 'rode in the chariot of love'; but toward the middle the enemy was let loose on her, and she was tempted to think she should faint at last; but I visited her on Monday last week, and as I prayed with her the cloud broke, and she said she never had so much of God's love in her life before, and she continued to praise Him for ten days together; then she said to her husband and daughter (who both know the Lord), 'I am going to my dear Jesus, O do not shed one tear for me, for why should you weep when I am going to eternal happiness?' Then she gave a smile and departed.

"There is one that hath been acquainted with the Lord twelve years, that lies a-dying of a mortification in her foot; but God is with her in exquisite pain, and I trust she will come out of the furnace as gold refined in the fire. My wife joins in love to you and all friends there, and we desire an interest in your prayers. Our daughter is very poorly, I think much as Miss Burnel was. I have never been at Leeds since I came home, but I hear Brother Shent is hard used after all he has done and suffered for the gospel.

"I pray you tell my friends in Stokescroft, and the Square, that their old friend that told them of Mr. Yates is gone to God as a shock of corn fully ripe. I was with him a few days before he died, and he said, 'John, God is good to me, and He will take me to Himself, and I would have thee go on, and do all the good thou can for time is short here.' This is with my earnest prayer for you, and them, and all the church of God in that place. From yours to serve as a son in the gospel.

JOHN NELSON.

"This part I would have you to keep to yourself, for if I be hurt, I would not have any one be hurt with me. I think you will sympathise with me and pray for me, for I am cut off from ever coming to Bristol or London again, without God work a miracle; for that I had towards supporting my family is taken off, and the stewards have sent me a letter that I must expect no more help from them; and we have but ten shillings per week in all, and that is to keep a servant out of, and wages

to pay her, which takes four shillings at least out of it, and we have coals and candles for the house, and soap to find, which will take two more, and all the goods in the house to keep in repair; and my meat when in the round, and in my absence another preacher for it; so that my family hath not one shilling a week to find them both meat and clothes, so that I am going to hew stone again; and I think to quit the house, for after near eighteen years' labour, I find it will not be meat and clothes. O sir, pray for me that I faint not at last. This keeps my head above water, to see that God continues to convert sinners by my word, and that so many finisheth their course with joy, so that I think He will either provide or take us to Himself. I desire that none may know of this but yourself till I see how matters will turn."

A proof of the thorough and close connection of Grimshaw with Methodism was the part he took in the erection, in 1758, of a chapel in Haworth, for the use of the Methodists after his death. His own kitchen had been, and continued to be during his lifetime, the Methodist preaching-room. In the circuit book there is the following entry relating to the above chapel. January 18th, 1759. "It was this day resolved by the preachers and the stewards of this round, that the sum of £2 16s. 8½d at the foot of this quarter's account, and lodged in the hands of Wm. Grimshaw, minister of Haworth, shall be disposed of by the said Wm. Grimshaw, in defraying the charges of building the preaching house at Haworth; as witness our hands the day and year above said:—Alexander Coates, James Oddie, Thomas Colbeck, William Greenwood, Parson Greenwood, Samuel Fielden.

One who knew this chapel, the late Mr. William Thomas, of Haworth, said it was twelve yards in length, by nine in width. Attached to it was a house, still standing, for the use of the preachers when at Haworth. The chapel was built by subscription, as we shall see in an unpublished letter from Grimshaw to Mrs. Gallatin. In conjunction with Grimshaw, the other trustees were thus described:—"John Wesley, of the city of Bristol, clerk; Charles Wesley, of the city of Bristol, clerk; Thomas Colbeck, of Keighley, grocer; John Nelson, of Bir-stall, gentleman; Paul Greenwood, of Stanbury, gentleman; Jonathan Maskew." To thee, Joseph Midgley, of Oldfield, then Lord of the Manor of Haworth, conveyed the site for 999 years, at a yearly rent of 13s. 6d., by a deed dated May 1st, 1758.

I now give Grimshaw's letter to Mrs. Gallatin, relative to this chapel, a letter showing how admirably he could meet spiritual difficulties, and also informing us of the very curious

expedient, adopted by three eminently godly men, for the removal of the first circuit chapel debt. In another letter, Grimshaw, without mentioning the names of his colleagues in this affair, says that one was in Birstall, and the other in Barnard Castle; and as John Nelson was then stationed at Birstall, and Darney was in the Dales circuit, we conclude they were the men. There is no room to doubt that the motives of all three were perfectly pure, and if they erred it was in ignorance, springing out of the lower standard of morality in their day, and the childlike simplicity of the men. It will be seen that all of them had scruples, and eventually resolved to tread that path no more.

“ Ewood, November 2nd, 1758.

Dear Mrs. Gallatin,

Grace, mercy, and peace be with you. The letter you wrote to me in answer to my request to you about the books, notwithstanding the Yorkshire mail was robbed, came safe to hand. In this I return sincere thanks to you for the trouble I gave you and the favour you did me on that account. I heartily thank you for the joy you express for the continued goodness of God to my poor unworthy soul. Indeed, to His eternal honour be it spoken, He has been amazingly gracious to me now near thrice seven years; but never more so than of late, and even at the present. Praise the Lord, O my soul! Tho' I've borne many heavy crosses and gone through many grievous trials and troubles since I saw you, yet the Lord was with me in them all, and has sanctified them all unto me. He who delivers out of six troubles, I know, can, does, and will deliver out of seven. I can truly say I never, that I remember, lost His presence for a moment this twelve years or upwards. O, dear madam, were I at your fireside, as formerly, I could give you a long and wonderful relation of my dear Lord's inward and outward dealings with me. But when shall that be? Perhaps I may do it in my future letters in some measure, and in relating such particulars of them as may be, through the Divine blessing, profitable for you. But no more of myself to you at this time; I desire rather to take notice of what relates to yourself in the sequel.

I won't dissemble with you. You rejoice to hear that God continues to bless me. Strange, and not be a child of God yourself, *not know what to say about the state of your own precious soul*. This rejoicing is an incontestable indication of the grace of God in your own soul. To rejoice with them that do rejoice ever will be a token of a child of God. Let the devil and unbelief object to it what

they will. I often think what a blessing it is that one may see another a child of God before he can see it himself. But say you, *I've more unbelief than any other in the world.* So says Satan, so you see, and you fear. But how come you to know this? By the light of the Holy Spirit. Light comprehends darkness, not darkness light. Do carnal men complain of unbelief? Blind men of the night? No! No! *But various are your doubts and fears, nay, you are ready to give it up, think all in vain.* This is just what the Devil wants you to be at. Give up all profession and all pretension is it? Fie upon him, old sophister; for tho' it is said that Michael, the archangel, durst not bring against him railing accusation, with the help of God I will. Yea, and the Lord rebuke thee, fiend! But the Lord, notwithstanding, is evidently in at your doubts and fears—and for proof let your own words speak. 'I cannot,' say you, 'rest in this state.' No, I hope the Lord will never let you, for blessed be His name, say I, this restlessness is His work. Your very next words are, 'I then think if I perish it shall be seeking mercy.' O amazing, glaring grace. Here is manifest God's hand. Here is the language of the Spirit. And here is Satan nonplussed. '*I am free,*' say you '*from my old doubts*' (I know what you mean) '*for months, then it returns again.*' Will the Devil never cease to scare you with old bugbears? This is Satan wholly. O how ready is he to play upon your weak side. O I dare say if ever you come to lie on a dying bed he will try you with your old doubts. When Satan wants tools of his own, I often find he makes use of ours to plague us with. And thus I see he deals with you, but never heed him; your old doubts will never hurt you in time or eternity. I am glad if any letter of mine be in this case of service to you. To the Lord be the praise. I wish I could dissuade you from one thing which methinks I discerned in some of your former letters and your last; it is poring too intently upon the worse side of your estate, and looking too remissly on the better. By this means your heart is amused with little to encourage you, but everything to discourage you from closing in with Jesus, in all or any of His offices. Thus, though your state is evidently and really good, you're held off from real and solid communion and consolation with God in Christ Jesus. Can you but once look in all, and through all at Him, how happy, lastingly happy would you be.

"What you say of *being afraid* I have spoke to you not from the good Spirit, as also of the contrary doctrines you hear of perfection, perfect people, and imputed righteousness, I reserve for my next letter. I'll deal honestly and freely with you about them all. I'll write my best to you about them, and endeavor

our what I can to remove your uneasiness. Sweet Jesus bless you and be with you. Read, watch, pray. God bless the Major. I hope to write soon. I am your much obliged and very affectionate

WM. GRIMSHAW.

P.S.—I wish my letter may be legible to you

P.S.—Permit me to desire a favour of you as being the only person we could apply to in London. A few days ago observing in one of the public papers an advertisement of one J. Hasard, Stock Broker, at his State Lottery office, near the Royal Exchange, at his house also on Ludgate Hill, &c., that a State lottery would begin drawing November 13th, which is Monday-sénnight, and that tickets are sold in parts, and not seeing any harm in the nature of the thing, I and two preachers more would be willing to desire you to buy us two quarters of shares, and two quarters of chances, of that Mr. Hasard, or where you please else, and we will take care to remit the money to whom you shall direct us. If Divine Providence give us nothing we are contented. If He give us anything we intend it for some laudable pious uses. We chose smaller parts of tickets that we may have a chance in more numbers, tho' our dividend be less. But if you think any other way of purchasing better, we submit to your judgment. Negotiate as you please for us. We would have nothing said of it. I'm your most constant friend. W.G.

P.S.—If you know any sin in the offering to buy any part of a ticket, or tickets, we are open to conviction. We are willing to decline the request and design. If there be no harm in it, as indeed we see none, we desire the favour of the purchase, as above."

In Grimshaw's next letter to Mrs. Gallatin we have a dissertation on satanic temptation, showing that he, like Wesley, had a vivid sense of the presence of powers of darkness to be resisted by the godly.

"Haworth, November 18th, 1758.

Dear Sister in the Lord,

Your answer to my last I received yesterday, but was not in leisure to write again till this morning. I am greatly obliged to you, but ashamed in myself, that you should rejoice at my renewal of our correspondence. I sincerely confess that I ought much rather to rejoice. However, may the Lord make it a mutual blessing to our precious and never dying souls. Whatsoever satisfaction and benefit the Lord may afford you from my letters—I will not say, if any,—to Him solely be the praise. What mean sentiments soever you may entertain of your own, hitherto they have always been a blessing to me, and I doubt not ever will be.

"I desire now to answer, as I promised, the unanswered part of your former letter. "I'm afraid," say you, "lest when you have spoke to me, that it has not been from the good Spirit." God forbid; then indeed both I and you consequently must be deceived. For such as I had, whencesoever I had it, notwithstanding in the integrity of my heart, I gave unto you. 'I was deluded by a lying spirit sent forth from the Lord to delude. And this, I further suppose you imagine, the Lord has done in an intentional, judicial, angry way against you. This I discern is your suspicion and mistrust. And to support you in this distressing imagination you refer to God's judicial dealing with Ahab. 1 Kings, xxii 20 to 28. But how does that extraordinary relation quadrate with your suspicion? Ahab was abominably wicked, devoted to idolatry, set up Baal in Israel, slew near all the Lord's prophets, and ran all the irreligious, impious, and wicked lengths of Jezebel's counsels. And now this wretched King, abandoned of the Lord, was come to the end of his hour, and Divine justice was determined to give him up to the delusion, not of the Lord's, but of his own false prophets, that they might betray him into battle, that he might fall, as by and by he did, by the hand of the Syrians at Ramoth Gilead. The spirit that begged leave to deceive his prophets was the devil, but nevertheless Micaiah, tho' he ironically promises the King victory (at the fifteenth verse), yet as being a true prophet of the Lord, foretells him his overthrow and death; as it exactly, you see, came to pass.

"So that from aught I can see from this story,—as the Lord Who can by no means be the author of delusion, error, or sin, permitted the prophets of Baal to deceive that wicked King to his utter ruin, so unto his own prophet Micaiah He gave the Spirit of Truth to tell the King honestly what would be his fate. But how foreign is all this to your case. Does it appear from this, or any passage of His blessed word, that the Lord suffers His servants to be possessed with an evil spirit to delude and destroy His penitent, salvation seeking, God fearing children? God forbid!

"And as to that passage in Ezek. xiv., 9. Compare it with verses three, and four, and you will quickly and clearly see that the case of Israel was the same with that of Ahab. They were given also to idolatry, and put the stumbling block of their iniquity before their faces, and yet would, as the manner and privilege in those days was, enquire of the prophet (true or false) concerning Himself, as though they would serve and obey Him. Horrid prevarication! Therefore would the Lord, as a just judgment upon them, and the prophet too, to work either repentance or ruin, deceive the prophet that he might

deceive them. This should terminate in the destruction of both if repentance prevented not (verses 9-11). But what have either of these Scriptures to do with you or me? These cases only affect the condition of such as are desperately abandoned to all iniquity, and no inclination to repentance appears in them. But does it appear, either from these or any other part of God's word, that the Lord puts a lying spirit into any of His true servants, to deceive such as are sincerely, penitentially, and piously seeking Him? By no means. Here again the Devil is busy with you, but, I hope, he shall never harm you. At times he may thus attempt to present Scriptures to you to foil and perplex you, but this and the like shall do you good. It shall exercise you to pray in watchfulness and closer application to the word which God gives.

"As to Mr. Wesley's writing and preaching against imputed righteousness, I'm surprised and sorry to hear it. What I, however, think of this, as also of sinless perfection, and Mr. Wesley's preaching against it, you shall, God willing, hear in my next. I had designed to have done it in this, but company and other engagements will not allow me. Your last letter shall also be answered. Sweet Jesus bless your good spouse and self. Perhaps it will be well to get the tickets registered. How am I obliged to you for the trouble I have given you on that account? To the Lord I would leave the issue. I hope to write again soon. Excuse haste, interlineations, and other blunders. Deal openly and frankly with me, and suffer me as occasion may require so far.

I'm your affectionate Brother in the Lord.

WM. GRIMSHAW."

A reference to the lottery shares is found in a letter of Grimshaw, written to Mrs. Gallatin on December 19th, 1758. "In my last I desired the shares and chances might be registered. My two friends who join with me in them are desirous to hear whether they are blanks or prizes. We suppose the drawing is near an end. We leave the issue to the Lord, in whose hands is the lot."

The next letter breathes resignation at the small success of this strange adventure.

"Haworth, January 19th, 1759.

Dear Sister in the Lord,

Grace, mercy, and peace be with you and your dear partner. As one house, through the special and gracious providence of our very dear Saviour, amidst this long and perilous season of war and bloodshed, has hitherto held you both, so may one mansion in your heavenly Father's house be your everlasting habitation after the dissolution of your earthly tabernacle. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

"One day this week I received the favour of yours. As to the small success it has pleased our Lord to allow us in the lottery, I am well content with it, and so I hope will my two partners be when they hear of it. They are two fellow labourers. One of them is preaching in Birstall Round, and the other in the Newcastle or Barnard Castle Round. One intent of venturing a little money in the lottery was, if any material success had attended it, to help us to reduce a debt which is occasioned by building, a while ago, a preaching house in this town. A gentlewoman, late of Leeds, now I trust with God, was so kind as to leave us about five years ago, one hundred and forty pounds for the purpose, which we have expended, and near seventy pounds more; which by reason of the low circumstances and poverty of our societies we are not able to pay without some further providential help. However, I hope, nay I doubt not, but by some way or other most agreeable to Himself, the Lord will make a way for us to discharge it—to Him therefore I leave it. Suffer me here, I humbly beg of you to put in a word. May I beg for the Lord and His poor people's sake a mite of you for this pious purpose. It is not the first time you have been pleased to favour me on the like occasion. Probably it may be the last. And if it be but the gift of five shillings, I doubt not but you will have the hearty thanks not only, but fervent prayers of myself and many more.

"I will take care to remit your money to your own hand by some one of my neighbouring tradesmen, who will be coming to London in March, or the beginning of April, as usual about business; and I hereby, for myself, and in the name of my partners, take the opportunity of returning you our cordial thanks for the trouble we gave you about the lottery. I could have rejoiced if better success had attended your own tickets. But we know the lot is of the Lord; He, blessed be His name, hath done what seemed Him good. I think, as you do, it is much if I ever venture again, though thanks be to the Lord for that small prize. Thanks be to the Lord; thanks be to the Lord for ever. O that we may never suffer the least of His benefits, as David speaks, to slip out of our mind!

"In your last letter before this, you desired an account in a long letter of the Lord's dealings with me, and, I think in my reply, I made you a promise of it. But alas, when I began to reflect upon it, I have not a heart to begin. One hundred sheets would not hold it. I might give you a relation of experiences of twenty years' long. However, if it may but be profitable for your precious soul, whose spiritual and eternal welfare, I assure you I have much at heart, and if my very dear Lord but spare me life, health, light, and leisure, I'll give it you in parcels, as well as I can in my future letters.

"At present, tho' I thank God I am pretty happy in soul, yet I am not very well in body, nor have not been, blessed be the name of the Lord, for near a week, and therefore am not in good order for writing letters. However, I hope I shall shortly write again. In the meanwhile I commend yourself and my dear Major to the sovereign care and gracious protection of our dear Redeemer. Sweet Jesus, Jesus, Jesus bless you abundantly with all temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings. I think I can truly say I never neglected to pray for you one day since I first saw you at Manchester. O that I may ever pray for you, and that my poor prayers may be heard. I wish an happy new year in soul, body, and estate, to both the Major and you, and desire to subscribe myself both his and your most obliged and humble servant,

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW.

"P.S.—Write I pray you often as you conveniently can; and let me hear chiefly of the estate of your soul. Watch and pray. I was in pain lest my two last letters had not got safe to your hand. If there be any defect in the manner I direct to you, pray let me know it."

We deeply regret that Grimshaw did not carry out the purpose expressed in this letter, as the autobiographical matter would have been most valuable.

"Haworth, May 5th, 1759.

Dear Sister in the Lord,

Grace, mercy, and peace be to you from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. I had designed to have wrote sooner, but have been much busied at home and abroad for near a month, which has been the main impediment to my writing. I hope you received my last, wherein among other things, I desired my sincere and hearty thanks to yourself and my other benefactors, by your means, for their generous contributions to our preaching house. I hope both you and they will have the prayers of many poor, but precious souls, and tho' they can no otherwise recompense you now, yet our dear Lord assures you, that you shall be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. The building is nearly finished; several friends have contributed cheerfully and handsomely to it, but it is still immersed (in debt). The burden lies chiefly, I may say solely (which is considerable) upon myself; but I hope, through the blessing of God, I shall ere long get extricated out of it, and see every penny paid. I hope you will not take it amiss, if I deduct the five guineas from the lottery money I owe, and send you the balance by Mr. John Wesley in August. He purposes to be here on the 22nd of July in his return out of the North to London.

"But yet would I write upon a more excellent subject,—Faith and Hope, such I mean as is not only properly Christian, or saving, but feeling, such as I experience by the grace of God. I experimentally find that this faith discovers what God hath prepared for them that love Him. And Hope still lays hold and sticks fast to that which faith discovers. Faith informs and hope possesses. I can never hope faster, nor further, than I believe. Faith walks foremost, and Hope follows. By this means, I find, to the praise of our dear Redeemer be it spoken, that reading, hearing, and meditation, are made unspeakably profitable and precious to my soul. By this means I am enabled to appropriate and apply to myself in a suitable and serviceable manner the promises of God, to acquire all grace attainable in this life, and to assure myself of that exceeding and eternal weight of glory that shall be revealed and enjoyed in the next. And so shall you. And as an unquestionable and comfortable consequence of all this, we shall wait diligently upon God in every means and ordinance of grace, and press unweariedly forward towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. In that small progress that I pretend to have made through grace, I find it daily expedient to try what principle every thought, word, and deed, proceeds from, and to what end it tends. If it proceed immediately from the Spirit, life, and love of God in my soul, and directly aims at His glory,—this is genuine sterling grace. If not, then how good and virtuous soever the same may appear to be, 'tis all but dross. We cannot be too wary and watchful over our hearts and ways, as touching this matter. This exercise is not difficult. Custom will make it familiar and easy, and the satisfaction and comfort naturally and necessarily resulting from it is unspeakable.

"I find this also always observable and true in the progress of grace, that one main way to grow in grace is copying sweet and precious Jesus in all His offices; to keep what I have by keeping it in exercise. This I take to be what He means when He says, 'To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance.' For sweet Jesus' sake, and for our own sake, let us mind this. This observation will not fail to excite to zeal and diligence, a diligence unconceivably profitable and pleasant to the soul.

"Let me hear from you soon. It shall not, God willing, be long before I write again. You will please to excuse bad writing. My eyes are of late grown so dim, that I can scarcely see to write or read, and the other day I broke my spectacles. I often think my letters are not worth loosing, and so I think of this, and really should be quite uneasy about it, but that I

know I write to one who can loose them without any sensible hurt to her substance. I think of you daily in my prayers. God bless the Major. I am your very obliged and affectionate brother in the Lord,

WM. GRIMSHAW."

The Rev. C. Atmore, in his *Methodist Memorial*, published in 1801, says of Mr. Grimshaw, "He received the itinerant preachers into his own house, and erected a chapel for them in Haworth, where they regularly preached during his life, and for many years after his death." The statement is quite correct as to the hospitality shown by Mr. Grimshaw to the preachers. From his letters however we find that he only bore part of the expense of the erection of the chapel, and we also learn that Mr. Atmore's statement respecting the use of the chapel is not strictly accurate. In a letter to Mr. George Marsden, dated Birstall, January 9th, 1802, Mr. John Pawson says, "I have wrote to C. Atmore and have pointed out to him a great variety of mistakes in his book, but I have missed one. Be so kind as to desire him to look in page 167. There he tells us the late Mr. Grimshaw erected a chapel for us where we regularly preached during his life, and for many years after his death. He did indeed build us a chapel, lest he should be succeeded by a carnal minister, and so his flock be scattered, but it never was preached in, no not a single time, till after his death, and is preached in to this day by our preachers. He also built a dwelling house for the preachers which joins to the chapel, but the preaching was in his own house as long as he lived. I was present soon after his death, on a Haworth feast day, when I heard in that chapel Peter Jaco and Paul Greenwood preach, and Thos Colbeck and John Pawson prayed &c., so that I know the truth of the above."*

On April 16th, 1773, the preaching house was let to William Riddihah, of Bingley, with liberty to teach a school in the chapel. Shortly afterwards the Haworth Methodist society diminished in numbers, and the chapel fell into such a dilapidated state that it was propped with timbers, and grass grew between the flags of the floor. The schoolmaster was obliged to teach in the dwelling house, and the religious services were conducted in the house of Mr. Abraham Sharp. The house he occupied is at the extremity of Haworth fronting down Mytholmes Lane. The members at that time, 1789 and 1790, had dwindled to five, viz, Abraham Sharp, Sarah Sharp, Henry Hey, Mary Whitaker, and Mary Hudson. In 1788, Haworth

*Letter in the possession of Mr. G. Stampe, Grimsby.

had actually ceased to appear on the circuit plan. So desolate had this once flourishing hill of Zion become. In 1789, it was thought by the preachers of the Keighley circuit, that it would be a lasting reproach if some effort were not made to restore this historic chapel. Jonathan Maskew, now seventy-six years of age, was the only surviving trustee; and he was willing to convey the premises to a new trust. A subscription was commenced, and the appeal being readily responded to, the old chapel resumed its sacred character, as to its upper storey, whilst the lower part was converted into a cottage.

In 1791-2, a revival of religion took place in the circuit, and the numbers were increased four-fold. Haworth society in 1805 had progressed to one hundred and thirty-four members, consequently the upper floor of the chapel was taken out, and a gallery erected to afford accommodation to the increased congregation. Another enlargement took place in 1822, the chapel front being brought forward to the road. The Rev. David Stoner preached the opening sermon on the evening of July 7th, 1822. The chapel was much crowded, and thirteen hundred persons were counted as they left the doors. On Monday the 8th, the Rev. Joseph Entwistle preached, and on the following Sunday the Revs. William Theobald and David Stoner. We can imagine how the souls of these eminently holy Methodist preachers would be fired as they stood on such sacred ground, especially after a survey of the old church in the condition in which it was left by Grimshaw. Our forefathers were much better informed concerning their sainted predecessors than are the men of to day, and the memory of their deeds filled them with admiration and gratitude to God.

In the wall of the present chapel there is inserted a slab from the old sanctuary, with the inscription, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Another stone from the same edifice, placed over the window of the vestry, records, "The first chapel was erected by William Grimshaw, A.B., minister of Haworth Church, A.D. 1758." The inscription was originally, "This chapel, &c." It shows that even then the word *chapel* was superseding *preaching house*.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON JANUARY 18th, 1759, Bentley Wood Green, near Burnley, contributed to the Round, by Jonathan Wood, 14s.

The income of the quarter was £14 16s. 5d., and the expenses £9 3s. 4d. Having a surplus of £5 3s. 1d. the meeting made the following gifts:—

	£	s.	d.
To Jonathan Maskew	0	12	0
„ Messrs. Oddie & Coates	1	0	0
„ Paul Greenwood	0	5	0
„ Parson Greenwood	0	5	0
„ John Coates	0	5	0

April 19th, Booth, &c., contribute 4s. 6d. by John Coates; Bankhouse, by Jonathan Maskew, 11s. 6d.

Grimshaw, in a letter Nov. 27th, 1747, says, “I accidentally met with Br. Bennet at Bank, near Heptonstall, where I went to meet all the Heptonstall parish classes.” This was probably the same place.

July 12th, Brimicroft contributes 10s. 6d. by Wm. Grimshaw; Rodwell End, 3s. by Jonathan Maskew; Gawkhholme, 2s. 6d. by Jonathan Maskew; Paper Mill, 8s. 6d. by Alexander Coates; Dunnokshaw, 4s. by Dionysins, Haworth.

Messrs. Coates & Oddie attended the Conference in London, August 8th to 11th, at a cost to the round of £4 4s. 0d., and left the circuit, being succeeded by John Nelson, John Hacking, and James Wild.

On Oct. 18th, the round paid for John Hacking’s riding coat, 22s. 6d., and James Wild wife’s pillion cloth, 22s.

Craggs Errington contributes 2s. 2d. by Samuel Fielden.

On the 20th of April, 1759, Grimshaw met Wesley in Leeds, and next day rode with him to Stainland, where the society had grown sufficiently to be able to erect what Wesley describes as “a handsome building, near the top of a mountain, surrounded with mountains on all sides. The house was filled from end to end. Mr. Grimshaw read prayers, and I preached on part of the second lesson.”

Again, on the 17th of July, 1759, Wesley was in the Haworth round, preaching to an immense congregation at the foot of a high mountain near Otley, probably the Chevin. Wednesday, 18th, he says, “I rode on to Mr. Marshall’s, at Guiseley, the

Capua of Yorkshire. In this delightful place are shady woods, cool fountains, and smooth and pleasant meadows. It is well God is here, or who could bear it?" Despite the spread of manufactories in the district, the vale of Esholt still answers well to Wesley's description. Mr. Jonathan Marshall resided at Parkgate, and with his wife had joined the Methodist society, and for many years continued steadfast to the cause. They rejoiced to receive Wesley as their guest when passing from Otley to Bingley and Keighley.

On the same day he rode to Keighley, "where," he says, "is a loving, earnest, well-established people." During the intervening years this high character has been well sustained, as the history of the circuit bears testimony.

On the 19th, another small Conference was held in Keighley, and was evidently a season to be had in remembrance by all who took part. Wesley says of it: "Here many of our preachers met, and many of our brethren; and God was with us in all our assemblies."

Grimshaw attended Wesley during the rest of the preaching tour in his round, and on Friday, the 20th, they rode from Keighley to Colne, when Wesley recalled the experience of 1748, which we have recorded. He says, "I preached at eleven in an open space, not far from the main street; I have seldom seen a more attentive or decently behaved congregation. How is the scene changed, since the drunken mob of this town used to be a terror to all the country! We rode to Broad Clough in the afternoon, a lone house in the midst of the Lancashire mountains. The people came in from all quarters, and it was a season of great refreshment."

Saturday, 21st: "Mr. Grimshaw led us to Gawksham, another lone house on the side of an enormous mountain. The congregation stood and sat, row above row, in the sylvan theatre. I believe nothing on the postdiluvian earth can be more pleasant than the road from hence, between huge, steep mountains, clothed with wood to the top, and washed at the bottom by a clear, winding stream."

Even now, with mills and growing towns defiling the air and polluting the river, and the rush of trains and noise of manufactures disturbing the valley, it is possible to picture a loveliness in the days of Wesley, little, if any, inferior to some of the best portions of the valley of the Wharfe. It is evident, from his frequent allusions to it, that the beauty of this West Yorkshire scenery fascinated Wesley.

At four on the same day he preached to a large congregation at Heptonstall, and thence rode on to Haworth. On the

following day, Sunday, the 22nd, Mr. Milner, the rector of Chipping, near Preston, read prayers, and Wesley preached twice to enormous congregations from a scaffold erected in the churchyard. Wesley says of the crowd, "Most of these were not curious hearers, but men fearing God. The communicants alone filled the church." They were doubtless the Methodists from great distances all round Haworth, who were in the habit of walking there frequently to hear Grimshaw and take the Communion. The Haworth round was so large and loosely connected as to render a survey of its parts difficult. Following the links afforded by entries in the circuit book, we are carried as far as Preston in the Fylde district of North Lancashire, and, fortunately, are able to give the story of the first Methodist in that important town.

The case of Martha Thompson, born 1731, illustrates the difficulties of converts to the faith in the early days of the society. She was compelled, about 1750, to seek the position of a domestic servant in the family of a lady formerly living in Preston, but then resident in London. Industrious, contented, and happy, she won the esteem of her employers, and was on good terms with the four or five fellow-servants resident in the house. Sent by her mistress one day, about 1755, into the city to make purchases, she saw a vast crowd of people in Moorfields, and soon found herself an absorbed listener to John Wesley. The arrow of conviction sank deep into her soul, and when she returned home she ingenuously told all that had passed to her mistress. The lady, a good churchwoman, solemnly warned Martha; but the anguish of her soul caused her to visit Moorfields again, and the way of salvation was pointed out so clearly in Wesley's sermon that her soul was set fully at liberty. In a transport of joy she joined the great congregation in song:—

"And will this sovereign King

Of glory condescend?

And will He write His name

My Father and my Friend?

I love His name, I love His word,

Join all my powers to praise the Lord!"

This triumphant song of joy echoed in the house. For a few days the servants endured it, and then, alarmed and annoyed, complained to the mistress. A doctor was called in, who declared that Martha was stark mad, and the same day the lady she served, with deep regrets, consigned her to a lunatic asylum. Even here the old song was still sung—

"I love His name, I love His word,

Join all my powers to praise the Lord!"

God touched the heart of her keeper, and she was at length permitted to go into the kitchen and make herself useful. Here she contrived to secure ink and paper and write a letter to Wesley soliciting his help to regain her freedom. A gentleman visiting his wife, who was an inmate of the asylum, kindly took the letter to Wesley, and that man of God soon procured Martha's release.

He did more—he carried her part of the way to Preston behind himself on horseback. Martha commenced business about 1757, as a milliner, and prospered in it very remarkably.

She was the only Methodist in the town of Preston, and her love for the communion of saints prompted her to search the country round for some kindred spirits. There was a poor weaver at Cockshott House, in the Ribble valley, named William Livesey, who joined the Methodists about this time (1759), and who became a spiritual magnet of considerable power. He attracted fifteen other persons to himself, and became leader of a society class at Brimicroft. It was six miles from Preston, but Martha Thompson counted it a privilege to walk twelve miles every Sunday for spiritual counsel and help.

She had a neighbour named Mrs. Walmsley, who kept an inn in Church Street, and who went with her one Sunday and joined the little band of Methodists. Shortly afterwards Mrs. Walmsley's son William was converted and joined them. There were now three Methodists in Preston, and they earnestly desired a visit from one of the travelling preachers. These itinerants had a circuit one hundred and twenty miles long by sixty miles broad, so that they were only able to visit the societies occasionally. At first they came to Preston once in six weeks and preached in Mrs. Walmsley's alehouse. She entertained them, and her son William became the first leader of the little society, which numbered five members—two other females having joined them.

When Colne was separated from Keighley and became the head of a circuit, Preston had a preacher once a fortnight, and later still service was held on Sunday at noon.

Martha Thompson married Mr. J. B. Whitehead, a brass founder and button manufacturer from Birmingham. Her new home was one of comfort and affluence. She was hospitable to the preachers, and did her utmost to promote the work of God in the district.

A very remarkable story is told of one of her efforts to win her friends to Christ. Wesley was announced to preach at Chorley one week-day, and she thought it would be a good opportunity for making Methodism known among her friends. So she hired a horse and conveyance at one of the inns in Preston,

and invited her friends to go with her to Chorley. She packed up a hamper of provisions, and prayed that God would save her unconverted friends at Chorley. The innkeeper who owned the horse and carriage employed a young man named Christopher Briggs, who was ordered to drive the party that day. Now Briggs had a fierce hatred of Methodism, common to all the Fylde people at that time, and when he heard they were a party of Methodists going to hear John Wesley, he positively refused to drive them. The innkeeper told him that as Mrs. Whitehead was a neighbour of his and a good customer, he must either drive her to Chorley or he must quit his service at once. After a long parley Briggs promised to go, but he inwardly swore that he would upset the coach and break their necks. The party filled the conveyance and drove merrily out of Preston. They were soon in the country, and Briggs began to look out for his opportunity of upsetting them all. That seemed not far to seek for it was a wretched road—full of holes and ruts and stone-heaps. On he drove at a fearful pace, expecting every moment to be overturned, and prepared to jump for his life and leave them to their fate. But this coach had a charmed life that day. It would not upset, and it did not break down, but drove triumphantly into Chorley. Briggs could not understand it. He did not know that Mrs. Whitehead had been praying for him, and that God's providence was watching over him. The hamper was unpacked, and Mrs. Whitehead entertained her friends to a good dinner. Briggs was persuaded to join them, and under the influence of the good things provided he began to think these Methodists were not such bad people after all. He went with them to the service, and under Wesley's sermon was led to seek and find mercy. He joined the society and became a very devout and sincere Christian. For some years he rendered valuable service to the cause in Preston.

Years afterwards he was travelling by coach from Staffordshire to Manchester, when the vehicle was upset, and he was thrown violently to the ground. His leg was badly crushed and had to be amputated. After the surgeons had finished their work he said "I thank you, gentlemen, for all the pains and trouble you have taken. Then turning to the Rev. Thos. Taylor, who stood by his side, he said, "Glory be to God, Who has gathered me unto Himself!" Then he was seized with convulsions and died.

Mrs. Whitehead lived to be nearly eighty-nine years of age, and her declining years were passed in great peace. She visited the sick and ministered to the poor, and occupied her place in the Sanctuary till the Master called her to the better and. She died at Preston in 1820.

When, in age and feebleness extreme, she was waiting for the end, she gathered her children and grandchildren round her bed, and begged them to sing her old song :—

And will this Sovereign King

Of glory condescend ?

And will He write His name

My Father and my Friend ?

I love His name, I love His word,

Join all my powers to praise the Lord.*

January 17th, 1760, Baildon contributes 4s. by James Wild ; Fewston 6s. 6d. ; Asquith 6s. ; Guiseley, etc., 6s. by Mr. Colbeck ; Hawksworth 7s. by Mr. Colbeck.

April 17th, New Mill, &c., 7s. 2d. by Jno. Hacking.

July 24th, Wadsworth, &c., 9s. 5d. by Wm. Parker ; Haworth, Oakes, &c., 18s. by W. Grimshaw.

Oct. 16th, Denholme, &c., 6s. by W. Grimshaw ; Barcroft, &c., 4s. by W. Grimshaw ; Mixenden, &c., 10s. by W. Grimshaw.

The preachers appointed to the round at the Conference of 1760 were John Oliver and John Gibbs.

John Oliver's early history illustrates the strange conceptions formed respecting the early Methodists, and the persecution they had to endure from their relatives for Christ's sake. He says : " My father was fond of me to excess." Under conviction of sin " I read, prayed, fasted, went to Church, and seemed more and more resolved ; till, after a few months, several young men of my acquaintance came from Manchester to Stockport (his home), on the Lord's Day, to an inn opposite to our house, and sent over for me. My father pressing me to go, I went." The result was a debauch followed by remorse and melancholy. " A neighbour, who was a hearer of the Methodists, sent me word there was to be preaching that night. My father declared that if I went he would knock my brains out, though he should be hanged for it ! However, I stole away. The preacher was John Appleton, who invited all who were weary and heavy-laden to come to Jesus. It was balm to my soul. Till now I had thought of saving *myself*. My cry now was, ' Lord, save, or I perish.' As soon as I got home, I went to prayer, and pleaded the merits of Christ. Suddenly, I thought I heard a clear voice, saying, ' Son ! thy sins, which are many, are forgiven.' I cried out, ' Lord, if this be from thy Spirit, let the words be applied with power.' Instantly I heard a second time, ' Son, thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee.' In that instant all my load was gone, and I felt such a change as cannot be expressed. I loved God : I loved all mankind. I could not tell whether I was in the body or out of it. Prayer was turned into wonder, love and praise."

* Fylde Methodism by I. Taylor.

Oliver immediately joined the Methodists, in the year 1748, being then in his seventeenth year. He goes on to say : "I was now tried in a manner I had not been before. My father was a man of violent temper ; and as much as he loved me, his anger quickly overcame his natural affection. He sent to all the Methodists threatening what he would do if any of them dared to receive me into their houses. Several gentlemen of the town advised him to proceed to more severe methods. He did so, frequently breaking sticks, and sometimes chairs upon me. When all this did not move me, he tried another way, charging me with disobedience, and telling me I had broke his heart, and would bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

"Several clergymen then called upon me, and strove to show me the Methodists were wrong. One of them was Mr. Dale, lately my master, who called me his child, prayed for me, wept over me, and conjured me, if I loved my own soul not to go near those people any more. My father promised, before Mr. Dale, I should go to Church-prayers every day, and would have every indulgence I could wish, 'provided I would come no more near those d——d villains.' I told him I would do everything in my power as a child to oblige him ; but this was a thing that affected my conscience, which, therefore, I could not give up. Our Society was now much united together, and did indeed love as brethren."

After-experiences were trying in the extreme, a fall from grace resulted in such remorse as to lead to two attempts at suicide. The father called in a doctor who bled, blistered, and drugged young Oliver after the brutal fashion of the time. Three clergymen visited him in turn, using every argument to induce him to think no more of the Methodists. When able to go out he fled to Manchester, but was followed by his mother, who found him listening to a Methodist preacher. Calling him out, she said, "Your father is dying and wants to see you before he dies." "Being exceedingly struck," he says, "I went with her. She took me to an acquaintance, Mr. Hibbert's, in Deans-Gate. But they knew not what to do with me, being afraid the Methodists would come and take me away. At length they shut me up in a room with strong doors, and a person to guard me all night. In the morning I was guarded home, where I found my father as well as usual. He did everything he could to extort a promise that I would leave the Methodists. But not prevailing, he gave the matter up, and from that time I gained my freedom."

Oliver obtained spiritual as well as physical liberty, and in the year 1759, after having for eight years laboured as a local preacher, Wesley appointed him as a preacher on trial to the

Sheffield circuit. This was done without consultation, or warning, on the recommendation of James Wild, who so abruptly left the Haworth round in 1760.

His second appointment was as successor to Wild in this round, where he also appears to have been discouraged to such an extent as to write to Wesley desiring he might go home. Wesley replied, "You have set your hand to the gospel plough; therefore never look back. I would have you come up to London this winter. Here is everything to make the man of God perfect." He says that Grimshaw shewed him great kindness, and did not let him go without much reluctance.

Of his colleague, John Gibbs, we can learn nothing, save that, according to Myles, he entered the ministry this year, and retired from it in 1766. The circuit book also shows that he was a married man, and the first to receive the allowance of £12 os. od. per annum in this round.

John Nelson was also appointed in 1760 to travel in the Haworth round. No traditions or records in his Journal refer to his work in this region. But he would certainly find congenial spiritual society, and be more generously treated than in the Manchester round. It was a year of great revival, and Nelson's soul would be fully in the work of building up societies. The revival spread first through various parts of Yorkshire, afterwards in London, then through most parts of England, and through the centre, South, and West of Ireland. Many persons, men and women, professed to be cleansed from all unrighteousness, and made perfect in love, in a moment; often while hearing the word, but more frequently while at prayer, or while others were praying for them. Wesley thus speaks of it, "Here began that glorious work of sanctification, which had been nearly at a standstill for twenty years; and wherever the work of sanctification increased, the whole work of God increased in all its branches. Many were convinced of sin, many justified, and many backsliders healed."*

Wesley had received the following letter from Otley, then one of the principal places in the Haworth round. "On Friday, March 13th, about thirty persons were met together at Otley, about eight o'clock in the evening, in order (as usual) to pray, and sing hymns, and provoke one another to love and good works. After prayer was ended, when they proceeded to speak of the several states of their souls, some, with deep sighs and groans, complained of the burden they felt for the remains of indwelling sin; seeing in a clearer light than ever before, the necessity of a deliverance from it.

*Myles, 85

"When they had spent the usual time together, a few went to their own houses ; but the rest remained upon their knees, groaning for the fulfilment of the great and precious promises of God. One being desired to pray, he no sooner began to lift up his voice to God, than the Holy Ghost made intercession in all that were present, with groanings that could not be uttered. At length the travail of their souls burst out into loud and ardent cries. They had no doubt of the favour of God, but they could not rest, while there was anything in them contrary to His nature. One cried out, in an exceeding great agony, 'Lord deliver me from my sinful nature !' then a second, a third, and fourth. And while the person who prayed first, was calling upon God in these words, 'Thou God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, hear us for the sake of thy Son Jesus !' one was heard to say, 'Blessed be the Lord God for ever, for He hath cleansed my heart.' " Another and another spoke the like experience, and the writer thus concludes :—" Thus they continued for the space of two hours ; some praising and magnifying God, some crying to Him for pardon or purity of heart, with the greatest agony of spirit.

"The next evening they met again ; and the Lord was again present to heal the broken in heart. One received remission of sins ; and three more believed God had cleansed them from all sin. And it is observable, these are all poor, illiterate creatures, of all others most incapable of counterfeiting, and most unlikely to attempt it. But 'when his word goeth forth, it giveth light and understanding to the simple.' " *

To this work at Otley Grimshaw alludes in his letter to C. Wesley, March 31st, 1760. He evidently thought that "sinless perfection" was being taught and professed, and from this and other letters we gather that Grimshaw's views on this "perfection" were felt by himself to be not quite in harmony with what he looked upon as Methodist teaching on this experience. He says :—

"The doctrine of perfection runs very high, just now, in these parts. About Otley and Leeds, I am told, not fewer than thirty profess sinless perfection ; and thirty more, I expect, will pretend thereto shortly. If it be of God, it is well. Time will prove it. I wish they knew their own hearts. My perfection is, to see my own imperfection ; my comfort, to feel that I have the world, flesh, and devil to overthrow through the Spirit and merits of my dear Saviour ; and my desire and hope is, to love God with all my heart, mind, soul, and strength, to the last gasp of my life. This is my perfection. I know no other, excepting to lay down my life and my sword together."

*Wesley's Journal. 2-524.

John Wesley at this time defined it in other but not contradictory words. "Constant communion with God the Father and the Son fills their hearts with humble love. Now this is what I always did, and do now, mean by perfection. And this I believe many have attained, on the same evidence that I believe many are justified. May God increase their number a thousand-fold."*

Grimshaw lived in closest friendship with the lay-preachers. They were entertained in his house and preached in his kitchen, of which services he constantly gave notice in the church. Newton, of Olney, in a letter to Wesley, of Nov. 14th, 1760, says "I forgot to tell you in my last, that I had the honour to appear as a Methodist preacher. I was at Haworth; Mr. Grimshaw was pressing and prevailed. I spoke in his house to about 150 persons. A difficult auditory in my circumstance, about half Methodists and half Baptists."† I have several times stood in that kitchen, and for such a large audience to assemble, the parlour and staircase of the house must also have been utilised.

The persecution to which Methodist preachers were subjected, and the damage done to their houses and preaching rooms, caused some of them to obtain licenses under the Act of Toleration, a law passed for the protection of Dissenters. Charles Wesley beheld this action with great suspicion, because he regarded it as a declaration of Dissent, and leading on to separation from the Church. John Wesley for a time opposed the obtaining of licenses, but at length directed his preachers, in case of necessity, to put themselves under the protection of this Statute. These facts explain allusions in the correspondence which took place in 1760 between Charles Wesley and John Nelson.

At that time also two others of the preachers, called out of the Haworth round, had incurred C. Wesley's grave displeasure. Thomas Mitchell and Paul Greenwood were stationed in Norwich, and had presumed to dispense the Lord's Supper there along with John Murlin. When this came to Charles Wesley's knowledge he wrote to his brother, who was probably at that time in Staffordshire.

"Dear Brother,

We are come to the Rubicon. Shall we pass, or shall we not? In the fear of God (which we both have) and in the name of Jesus Christ, let us ask, 'Lord what wouldest *Thou* have us to do?'

"The case stands thus. Three Preachers, whom we thought we could have depended upon, have taken upon them to ad-

*Journal 2-528.

†Myles 22.

minister the sacrament, without any ordination, and without acquainting us (or even yourself) of it beforehand. Why may not all the other Preachers do the same, if each is judge of his own right to do it? And every one is left to act as he pleases, if we take no notice of them that have so despised their brethren.

"Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, almost all our preachers are corrupted already. More and more will give the Sacrament, and set up for themselves, even before we die, and all, except the few that get orders, will turn Dissenters before or after our death.

"You must wink very hard not to see all this. You have connived at it too, too long. But I now call upon you to consider with me what is to be done ; 1 To prevent a separation ; 2 To save the few uncorrupted Preachers ; 3 To make the best of those that are corrupted."

Charles took prompt measures. John Murlin and Paul Greenwood were summoned to London to answer for their conduct. Thos. Mitchell was probably excused the journey that he might take care of the Norwich flock, which was certainly composed of unruly sheep. Charles Wesley also wrote to various preachers in terms which convey his intense regard for the Church of England, and the extremes to which he would go in preventing any separation from her or encroachment on the supposed rights of her clergy by Methodist lay preachers. The term *corrupt* is not used as conveying any reflection either upon their doctrinal or moral integrity, but as descriptive of alienation from the Establishment.

His views are very completely set forth in a letter to Grimshaw, which also gives us the substance of John Wesley's reply to the letter of Charles, showing that he did not think so serious a crime had arisen as his younger brother apprehended.

"London, March 27th, 1760.

My dear Brother,

I write while able. The gout threatens my hand : therefore I make haste to summon you to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

"Is there not cause for reprinting the enclosed? Our preaching-houses are mostly licensed, and so are proper meeting-houses. Our preachers are mostly licensed, and so are dissenting ministers. They took out their licenses as 'Protestant Dissenters'" (they could not get them under any other name, and without them were unprotected against persecuting laws and mob violence.) "Three of our steadiest preachers give the Sacrament at Norwich, with no other ordination or authority than a six-

penny license. My brother approves of it. All the rest will most probably follow their example. What then must be the consequence? Not only separation, but general confusion, and the destruction of the work so far as it depends on the Methodists.

"I publish the enclosed with my brother's concurrence. He persuades himself that none of the other preachers will do like those at Norwich; that they may all license themselves and give the Sacrament, yet continue true members of the Church of England; that no confusion or inconvenience will follow from these things; that we should let them do as they please till the Conference: where, I suppose, it must be put to the vote whether they have not a right to administer the Sacraments; and they themselves shall be the judges.

"I cannot get leave of my conscience to do nothing in the meantime towards guarding our children against the approaching evil. They shall not be trepanned into a meeting-house if I, with God's help, can hinder it. Every man ought to choose for himself; and every man shall see with his own eyes and know what he does before he does it. I am convinced things are come to a crisis. We must now resolve either to separate from the Church or to continue in it the rest of our days.

"If pride and the enemy did not precipitate them our preachers would infallibly find the door into the outward ministry opened to them soon. Such as addict themselves to the service of the Dissenters we shall let depart in peace. Such as dare trust God and venture themselves in the same bottoms with us, we shall cherish them as sons, and do our utmost for them as to soul, body and estate.

"But this I insist upon: every preacher must know his own mind and his brethren's; must be able to answer, what will become of me after our fathers are gone? Must not I become either a Dissenting or Church minister? Which would I choose? To have them and things as they are is to betray our charge; to undermine the Church; and, as far as in us lies, to destroy the work of God.

"I have read the "Reasons" to the Society here, and their hearts are as the heart of one man. Will you not join hand and heart with us in confirming the souls of the disciples? I anticipate your answer, for I know that you pray for the peace of our Jerusalem; and you prosper because you love her.

"Direct to me at the Foundery, and strengthen my hands by your counsel and your prayers, if you count me worthy to be called

Your affectionate and faithful brother,
C. WESLEY."*

*Jackson 2-187.

To this letter of Charles Wesley, Grimshaw immediately replied, sending his answer by Thomas Colbeck, who doubtless had business in London. As we shall see, he did not carry out the purpose declared in the letter, but remained a Methodist to the day of his death.

“Haworth, March 31st, 1760.

My very dear Sir,

Having an opportunity of sending you a letter by dear brother Colbeck, who sets out for London to-morrow, I was just sitting down to write to you when yours, as if Divine Providence had some special design in it, came to hand. I write but seldom indeed, because I have seldom much to write to you about. But now, upon my word, you have furnished me with matter to write upon. The preachers and preaching-houses are mostly licensed, you say. The evil that may follow upon this perhaps may be worse than anything that you or your brother could have any cause to apprehend from William Darney.

“This of licensing the preachers and preaching-houses is a matter that I never expected to have seen or heard of among the Methodists. If I had I dare say I had never entered in connexion with them. I am in connexion and desire to keep so, but how can I do it consistently with my relation to the Church of England? For as it is with you, so it is with us. Since the last Conference (what encouragement was then given the preachers to license themselves God and you best know) many of the preachers have got licensed at the Quarter Sessions. Several of the preaching-houses have got licensed. To be sure the Methodists are no longer members of the Church of England. They are as real a body of Dissenters from her as the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, or any body of Independents. How I have complained of this all the last winter to our brethren Mr. Colbeck can tell you.

“I speak of my situation. Can I justify before my provincial, or a Consistorial Court, my preaching in a meeting-house, or my connexion with a body of dissenting ministers? Am I not liable to suspension *ab officio*, as well as *beneficio*? About twelve years ago, when Archbishop Hutton was Archbishop of York, amongst other arguments to stop me from preaching abroad he made this one—that I preached in a licensed meeting-house (meaning the Boggard-House, at Leeds). And if his Grace could have proved it (as he, upon inquiry into that thing, could not) it is not improbable that he had suspended me. I promised his Grace at that time that I never would (though determined to preach abroad) preach in a licensed house; no, not even that at Leeds, if it should appear to be licensed. And not many months

ago, it being reported that I was to preach at a fixed time in a licensed building, the minister and churchwardens of the parish had determined to prevent me, but it turned out providentially that I preached in a barn near to it, and so no more was said of it. I have indeed preached now and then in a licensed house where I was a stranger, or thought no notice would be taken of it. But at the rate we go on all the nation must be alarmed at our present proceedings, and no doubt the Spiritual Courts will shortly animadvert upon our doings, and perhaps other powers too, so soon as the war ceases. At present they have something else to do.

"I little thought that your brother approved or connived at the Preachers' doings at Norwich. If it be so, 'to your tents, O Israel!' It is time for me to shift for myself; and disown all connexion with the Methodists; and stay at home, and take care of my parish; or to preach abroad in such places as are unlicensed, and to such people as are in connexion with me. I have no intention to preach the less; but to exert myself, as far as I am able, for the salvation of sinners. I hereby, therefore, assure you, that I disclaim all further and future connexion with the Methodists. I will quietly recede without noise or tumult. No one mindful to continue with them, shall be either directly or indirectly hindered by me. I have other reasons, Sir, for leaving the Methodists, besides the above, which I shall not mention now.

"In general, as to the licensing of Preachers and places, I know no expedient to prevent it. The thing is gone too far. It is become inveterate. It has been gradually growing to this ever since erecting preaching-houses was first encouraged in the land; and if you can stem the torrent by dint of persuasion, or some other influence you may have over some of the Preachers, it will be only during your own lives. So soon as you are dead, all the Preachers will do as many have already done; and even while you live, the licensed preachers, though they continue with you, will do worse than after your death. For now, even upon their sixpenny license, they will dare to administer the Sacrament; whereas then they will qualify themselves further for it by obtaining Presbyterian ordination. Dissenters the Methodists will all shortly be; it cannot, I am fully satisfied, be prevented.

"Nor is this spirit merely in the Preachers. It is in the people also. There are so many inconveniences attend the people, that in most places they all plead for a settled ministry. They cannot, they say, in conscience, receive the Sacraments as administered in our Church. They cannot attend preaching at eight, twelve, and four o'clock, on Lord's days, and go to church. They reason these things with the Preachers, and urge them upon ordination

and residence. They can object little against it, how little soever their minds are inclined to it. Therefore they license. For my part, though I do not approve of everything in our liturgy, yet I see nothing so materially amiss in it, or our Church constitution, as to disturb my conscience to that degree, as to justify my separation from her. No; where shall I go to mend myself? I believe the Church of England to be the soundest, purest, and most apostolical, well-constituted national Christian Church in the world. Therefore I can, in good conscience, (as I am determined, God willing, to do) live and die in her. But my conscience is not another man's. I believe the Methodists (Preachers and members) have so much to say for their separation from our Church, as will not easily, in a Conference or otherwise, be obviated."

On this controversy the Rev. T. Jackson remarks:—

"The view which Charles Wesley and Grimshaw took of "licenses" was partial, and unworthy of their superior sense. They were Clergymen, and their gowns generally secured them respect, and protection from violence. Not so with the lay-Preachers. They could only secure protection from mobs and ill-minded individuals by the provisions of the law of Toleration. They *must* take the prescribed oaths and be licensed. Also the preaching-houses and their congregations could only by a similar provision be protected from the operation of persecuting statutes, enacted in a former age. Without licenses both the Preachers and their hearers would have been at the mercy of every ruffian in the land, and many of them must have been ruined by imprisonment and heavy fines."*

"When these excellent men contended that the Methodist Preachers must either be Clergymen or Dissenting Ministers they were not aware of the design of Providence to raise up in the nation a middle party, not directly identified with either, but exerting a salutary influence on both. In these times, indeed, no human sagacity could see how the Methodist succession could be secured. God, however, has taken care for this."†

John Wesley shared not his brother's fears. Writing to him after the Conference, he says: "I do not at all think, to tell you a secret, that the work will ever be destroyed, Church or no Church. What has been done to prevent the Methodists leaving the Church, you will see in the Minutes of the Conference. I told you before, with regard to Norwich, *dixi*. I have done at the last Conference all I can or dare do. Allow me liberty of conscience, as I allow you."‡

*Jackson 2-193.

†Jackson 2-193.

‡Jackson 2-197.

Joseph Cownley, one of the ablest of the early preachers, wrote thus to C. Wesley on separation, exhibiting its complete futility. "There are several of my brethren, who have no thoughts of fleeing to the gown or cloak for succour, unless they could do it, and be Methodist preachers still. I can easily believe that many, if not most, of those who shall survive you, will separate from the Church, except, as my friend Hopper says, you get them fastened where they are by prevailing on one or more of the bishops to ordain them. But then what bishop, either in England or Ireland, will ever do this? Will ordain a Methodist preacher to be a Methodist preacher? For my part, as poor and worthless a wretch as I am, I could not submit to it on the terms on which most of my brethren have got it."

This correspondence is given to show how great were the difficulties John Wesley had to cope with, and how marvellous was that Divine Providence which rescued lay-preaching in this eventful year of its history. These men were all good and gracious, or with their strong views they might have wrecked Methodism.

Charles Wesley wrote to Nelson, then travelling in the Haworth round, but it will be seen he makes no suggestion as to honest John taking orders in the Church.

"London, Mar. 27th, 1760.

My dear Brother,

I think you are no weathercock. What think you then of licensing yourself as a Protestant Dissenter, and baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper, and all the while calling yourself a Church of England man? Is this honest, consistent, just? Yet this is the practice of several of our sons in the Gospel, even of some I most loved, and most depended upon. Who would have thought that Paul Greenwood could be carried away with such dissimulation? He, and Thos. Mitchell, and John Murlin, and now, I suppose, Isaac Brown, give the Sacrament at Norwich. My brother suffers them. Will not all the rest follow their example? And will not separation, yea, and general separation, ensue? And must not the work of God, so far as we are concerned, be thereby destroyed?

"John, I love thee from my heart: yet rather than see thee a Dissenting Minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin.

"What can be done to save our Preachers? Let all things be done in love, and meekness, and the spirit of prayer."

An unpublished letter of Nelson's is his reply, which must have been like healing oil to C. Wesley's troubled spirit.

“ To the Revd. Mr. Charles Wesley at Foundery, near Moorfields, London. (Seal a lion, or griffin rampant). ”

Heptonstall, April 21st, 1760.

Dear Sir,

This is with my duty to you and earnest prayer for you and yours and all the Church of God. I was not at home when you came to Birstall, for I have been near six months in Mr. Grimshaw's round, where I am yet, and likely to stay longer. It is a hard round for man and beast, but God hath given strength for the day, so that I can say He hath not sent me a warfare at my own charge, and His right hand is visibly stretched out in many parts of the round, so that sinners is struck to the heart, and sometimes four or five crying out under one sermon as a woman in her throes. Since I wrote to your brother before, there is thirteen that professes to have received faith in the blood of Jesus that I have an account of, and there is an extraordinary work amongst the old steady believers. God doth visibly appear in the congregations, and strangers flock to hear daily more and more. The harvest truly is great in these parts, but the labourers are few, for James Wild hath taken his wife and is gone we know not where, nor for what reason. Mr. Grimshaw labours abundantly, but we want more help. O pray for us as we do for you. Among those that is lately converted God hath taken the highest twig and the lowest bough, for one of them is four-score and three years old, and another eleven years old. There is several that hath finished their course with joy lately in this round. One woman eighty-two years old that had had a work upon her several years. We preached in the house where she lived, and she said a few years before she died, ‘I have had many a conflict with Satan since I first set out for heaven, but God hath bruised him under my feet, and Jesus hath made me as He would have me to be, and He will shortly take me to Himself, where I shall reign with Him in glory for ever.’ And one was Paul Greenwood's cousin, a single woman that had professed faith ten years, and was a pattern to all the class, and a reprover of the ungodly both by her words and works. About ten days before she died she sent for several of her neighbours to come to her, and told them how she had delivered her soul of them, and that she hoped that they would remember her words when she was laid in the grave. ‘You know that I told you ten years ago, and many times since, that God doth justify the ungodly that turns at His reproof and believes in the Lord Jesus, and now I can testify that He doth sanctify the unholy that continues to believe in Him’; and she continued to praise God and to exhort

all that came near her till she fell asleep in the arms of God. And there was a woman in Netherdall that is gone in peace after professing to know the Lord for eight years. And old Rose Mortimer, of Birstall, is gone as a shock of corn full ripe. She had known the Lord to be her God and Saviour nineteen years and some days, and now she is gone to sing praises to God and the Lamb for ever. She is the first of that family that hath died in triumph, and makes up 238 that hath died so in Birstall Round ; O praise the Lord with us for all His wonderful works, and pray for us that we may not stop His hand by our unfaithfulness.

"I can rejoice at the deliverance of your wife and children and all our other friends that escaped the flames. I suppose you saw the account I sent to your brother of Sister Harrison's death. This from your unworthy brother and as a son to service in the gospel.

JOHN NELSON.

"I should be glad to disperse them books, but how must I come at them ? If you write to me I should be glad if you could send by my good friend, Mr. Greenwood, the bearer of this. He inns at the Swan with two necks in Lad Lane, or to direct to me at Mr. Colbeck's in Keighley.

"I have showed your letter to Mr. Grimshaw, and we are both in one mind, that is, we cannot in conscience agree that anyone that is in connexion with us should act as a dissenting Minister, either to baptise or to deliver the Sacrament. If it be allowed we must openly declare that they are no longer of us ; as for my part I think I would rather die to-day than live till to-morrow and break our covenant, and I have no more desire to license myself as a dissenting Minister than I have to rob on the highway, for hitherto God hath delivered me from the hands of wicked men, and I trust He will deliver to the end. I believe that some of our brethren hath been drawn into it by others, and had no design in it but to protect themselves from the press and the Militia Act ; but I could not do so for my part, and I pray God that the enemy may get no advantage over any of them by it. I think I love them all, and can pray for them as for myself, and that God may purge us all that we may bring forth more fruit to His praise and glory.

"You speak of Mr. Grimshaw being at the Conference. You may be sure he will if he can, and if it be at Leeds, and that woman come there she will do a deal of mischief. She hath spread a deal of poison into the mind of Br. Colbeck while he was in London, but I trust it is all expelled, and he will know how to guard against her for the time to come. Your brother did not say that it would be at Leeds when he was there, or would not be there. Sir, if it is fixed where it is to be, I pray you let

me know in your next. My kind love to your wife and all friends at Bristol."

In this letter Nelson refers to James Wild leaving the round. He was a married man, and Charles Wesley graphically describes the outlook of such at that time. "Here is a poor Methodist Preacher who has given up his business (his little all) for the sake of preaching the gospel. Perhaps he has got a wife and children, and nothing to keep them. By labouring like a horse, and travelling like a post-boy, for ten or a dozen years, his strength is exhausted; yet he is able and quite willing to do what he can still. But how shall he get bread for his family? That Mr. Superintendent (J. Wesley) will look to. Well; be it so. Suppose neither he nor his children are starved while my brother and I live, what must he do when we depart."* These may in part have been J. Wilde's thoughts.

What Nelson could not account for in the conduct of James Wild is explained by James Oddie in a letter written to Mr. Wesley from Leeds, May 6th, 1760. "James Wild has left the Round very abruptly, and is gone to Sheffield, intending to keep shop there. No reasonable offence was *given* to occasion so sudden a departure. He has *taken* offence at me. Some time since we dined together at Mr J. Kins. After dinner he declared there was no freedom from sin before death. I gave my reasons, in as few and mild words as I could, why I thought it might be. This he took as a great offence. I have wrote to him since, and told him *from my heart*, though I intended no offence, nor thought I had given any; yet I would lay my hands under his feet if it would do him any good. The Lord knoweth I would rather suffer anything than designedly offend or needlessly grieve any creature in the world! I cannot think of it without tears flowing from my eyes."†

The doctrine of Christian Perfection was at this time much discussed. By some of Wesley's preachers it was not fully accepted in consequence of the fear that it might be held to mean *sinless* perfection. Darney, in this district, was one of them, and evidently Wild also. In Grimshaw's letter to Charles Wesley, of May 31st, 1760, respecting separation from the Church, he complains himself concerning Darney: "All I desired 'was only a year's probation for him, and then, as his behaviour should deserve, to be accepted by us or rejected.

"Whatever John Nelson (for him I suppose you meant) wrote to you, I am well assured that the people in Birstall circuit were much blessed under his preaching." To this statement Mr.

*C. Wesley's Life, 2-185.

†Methodists Magazine, May 1780--336.

Thomas Jackson appends a foot-note : " Darney was a favourite with Mr. Grimshaw, but disowned by Charles Wesley and most of the preachers. There is more point in this allusion than at first appears. Mr. Charles Wesley was very fastidious as to the preachers whom he would employ in the itinerancy ; and Darney was one of the men whom he discountenanced, so that even Mr. Grimshaw could not obtain for him what he thought a fair trial."*

John Nelson, in the year 1760, was travelling in the Keighley circuit, and seems to have had ground for complaint, not only then, but of old standing, for if Darney preached in Birstall it would probably be in 1751, when he was stationed in Leeds.

The only other item of information we can gather respecting Darney in 1760 is an entry in the Keighley circuit book of 21s., as paid to him on the 17th January.

We infer that Wesley had been again compelled to silence him on account of doctrinal opinions advanced in his sermons. In an unpublished letter, dated London, Sept. 8th, 1761, and addressed to Mr. Lowes at the Orphan House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Wesley says : " If local preachers who differ from us will keep their opinions to themselves then they may preach in our Societies, otherwise they may not ; and upon this condition we are all willing to receive Mr. Darney into connection with us." From this it is evident that he was regarded at that time as a local preacher, and was neither an assistant nor a helper. It is of interest to note that itinerant preachers, who had for years been put in charge of circuits, when, through sickness or discipline, they retired from full duty, were spoken of, and regarded themselves, as local preachers. Matthew Lowes, although he had been in the work of the early ministry from 1758 to 1771, says, " Since the year 1771 I have resided at Newcastle as a local preacher ; though generally once a year, while I was able, I visited the Dales, &c."†

On Feb. 7th, 1761, Grimshaw again writes to Mrs. Gallatin. The letter is in his usual fervently pious strain, and thus concludes : " I follow my old calling, and in the old way. I know of no better one. Nor would I exchange it. 'Tis quite contrary to the worldly ones. 'Tis a shameful one, a painful one, and a penniless one ; but I look to my dear Jesus for so much more of what He has to give in heaven. And as I am, I am quite happy in the Lord. I've wrote by this post to dear Mr. Romaine. That's a precious soul."

*Jackson's C. Wesley, 2-189.

†See Minutes 1, vol. 715.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Wesley was steadily defending the order he had established and the preachers we have described. In a very able letter to a friend, written April 10th, 1761, he expresses sentiments which are as valid to-day, as then, against high-church claims. Concerning preaching said to be subversive of the order of the church, he says: "This preaching is not subversive of any good order whatever. It is only subversive of that vile abuse of good order of our church, whereby men who neither preach nor live the gospel are suffered publicly to overturn it from the foundation; and in the room of it, to palm upon their congregation a wretched mixture of dead form and maimed morality. What is it that you have deliberately engaged to defend? The constitution of the Church of England. And is not her doctrine a main part of that constitution; a far more essential part thereof than any rule of external order? But have you deliberately engaged to defend her orders to the destruction of her doctrine? Are you a guardian of the external circumstance, when it tends to destroy the substance of her constitution?"

It was objected that "They maintain it lawful for men to preach who are not episcopally ordained! In some circumstances they do; particularly when thousands are rushing into destruction, and those who are ordained, and appointed to watch over them, neither care for nor know how to help them. 'But hereby they contradict the 23rd Article to which they have subscribed!' They subscribed it in the simplicity of their hearts, when they firmly believed none but episcopal ordination to be valid. But Bishop Stillingfleet has since fully convinced them this is an entire mistake."

It was asserted that orders, &c., were "essentially constituent parts of our Establishment." Wesley replies: "We will not quarrel for a word. Perhaps the doors may be essentially constituent parts of a building we call a church. Yet, if it were on fire, we might innocently break them open, or even throw them for a time off the hinges. Now this is really the case. The timber is rotten, yea, the main beams of the house; and they want to place that firm beam, salvation by faith, in the room of salvation by works. A fire is kindled in the church, the house of the living God; the fire of love of the world, ambition,

covetousness, envy, anger, malice, bitter zeal; in one word of ungodliness and unrighteousness. O, who will come and help to quench it? Under disadvantages and discouragements of every kind, a little handful of men have made a beginning; and I trust they will not leave off till the building is saved, or they sink in the ruins of it. 'But they are irregular!' I answer, that is not their choice. They must either preach irregularly or not at all. Is such a circumstance of weight to turn the scale against the substance of the gospel? If it is, if none ought to speak or hear the truth of God, unless in a regular manner, then—to mention but one consequence—there never could have been any reformation from Popery. For here the entire argument for church order would have stood in its full force. Suppose one had asked a German nobleman to hear Martin Luther preach; might not his priest have said—without debating whether he preached the truth or not—'My lord, in every nation there must be some settled order of government, ecclesiastical and civil. There is an ecclesiastical order established in Germany. You were born under this establishment. Your ancestors supported it, and your very rank and station constitute you a formal and ancient guardian of it. How, then, can it consist with the duty arising from all these, to give encouragement, countenance, and support to the principles and practices that are a direct renunciation of the established constitution?' Had the force of this reasoning been allowed, what had become of the Reformation? Yet it was right; though it was a subversion of the whole ecclesiastical constitution with regard to doctrine as well as discipline."*

On April 16th, 1761, the following places appear in the circuit book.

Benroyd, by Thos. Priestley	...	...	10s.
Fewston, by W. Rodd	...	...	14s.
Redshaw, by W. Rodd	...	...	3s.
Top o'th Coal Pits, by Jonathan Catlow			7s.

James Oddie, Thomas Greaves, and Isaac Brown were the travelling preachers in the circuit.

I cannot find any particulars respecting Thomas Greaves, save that he began to travel in 1756, and left the itinerancy in 1766, to be ordained in the Church of England. He must have continued friendly to Methodism, as he assisted Wesley in administering the Sacrament at West Street Chapel, London, on Jan. 22nd of that year.

Isaac Brown was a native of Hawksworth, near Otley, and is thus called early to superintend the round in which he was born,

*Wesley's Works, 13—200.

having begun his career as an itinerant preacher in 1760. After travelling for forty-three years he was, in 1803, forced by increasing infirmities to desist. He settled in Pontefract, where he preached as his strength would allow. He was well known and greatly beloved by Mr. Wesley, who generally spoke of him as "honest Isaac Brown." A childlike innocence appeared in his spirit, and his whole deportment was such as becometh the gospel of Christ. He laboured hard and long for the Lord, and died in peace in the year 1814.

On the 6th of July, 1761, Wesley once more entered the Haworth round. We find him preaching at Otley and carefully examining the society, especially those who professed Christian perfection. He also preached next day at Fewston, near Otley, where he says, "The whole congregation seemed just ripe for receiving all the promises."

Again in a letter from Otley, July 7th, 1761, to Alexander Coates, he defines his teaching on this important doctrine. "The perfection I teach, is perfect love; loving God with all the heart: receiving Christ as prophet, priest, and king, to reign alone over all our thoughts, words, and actions. . . . To say Christ will not reign alone in our hearts, *in this life*, will not enable us to give him *all* our hearts."

The remainder of that July week Wesley spent at Guiseley, Bingley, and Keighley. On Sunday, the 12th, he says, "I had appointed to be at Haworth, but the church would not near contain the people who came from all sides. However, Mr. Grimshaw had provided for this by fixing a scaffold on the outside of one of the windows through which I went after prayers, and the people likewise all went out into the church yard. The afternoon congregation was larger still. What hath God wrought in the midst of these rough mountains!"*

On such occasions as this we may be sure that the old parsonage would be full of guests, and can picture them surrounding the massive oaken table which until recently remained in its large room. Grimshaw was a lover of hospitality, and he had occasionally many visitors in the summer season. When the house was full he would give up his own bed and retire to sleep in the hay loft, without giving his friends the least intimation of his purpose. A friend who often lodged with him, surprised him early one morning, cleaning the boots of his guest, who he supposed was still asleep.

This early riser, on Monday, 13th July, heard a sermon preached by Wesley for his special benefit. Wesley says, "At five I preached on the manner of waiting for 'perfect love,'

* Journal, 3-67.

the rather to satisfy Mr. Grimshaw, whom many have laboured to puzzle and perplex about it. So once more their bad labour was lost, and we were more united both in heart and judgment than ever."

After that sermon Wesley rode to Colne, preached there at noon, and in the evening at five in Padiham, "a place eminent for all wickedness." On the morning of the 14th he preached at Bentley Wood Green, on, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." He says, "Mr. Grimshaw afterwards told me that this perfection he firmly believed and daily prayed for, namely, the love of God and man producing all those fruits which are described in our Lord's Sermon upon the Mount." About noon Wesley preached at Bacup, then a village in Rossendale. He says, "The new preaching house is large, but not large enough to contain the congregation." The deed of this chapel contains the following curious clauses respecting the doctrine and life of preachers occupying its pulpit:—

"Provided always that such preachers preach no other doctrines, namely, than the great doctrine of universal redemption by Christ, justification by faith alone, conditional perseverance of the saints, and entire sanctification in this life; such doctrine to be preached without a written or printed sermon." It was moreover provided that should Bacup ever be made the head of a circuit, the trustees should "immediately see to uprightness, sober life, and conversation of the preacher."*

Other chapels in this part of England contained peculiar clauses in their deeds. The first deed of Denholme Chapel, dated October 26th, 1792, states that the chapel shall be used as a place of public worship of Almighty God, by the Methodist Denomination, who shall teach the doctrines of the Church of England. The land was conveyed by the Rev. Robt. Ogden, Michael Ogden and Edmund Ogden, to John Ogden, Thomas Ogden, Edmund Ogden, Jonas Hey, Thomas Driver (Norbury), Joseph Foster, and Henry Illingworth.

The revival then in progress, as is generally the case, was attended with some wild-fire. Hot-headed men used unscriptural expressions and brought the work of God into contempt. Grimshaw was sorely distressed at the conduct of these imprudent persons; hence the anxiety of Wesley that he should clearly understand his teaching on advanced experimental religion.

Grimshaw, on July 21st, 1761, after apologising for not attending Wesley, who had been itinerating in the West

* M.S. in possession of Mr. Jessop.

Riding, especially about Leeds and Birstall, goes on to say, "The disappointment is more my own loss than yours, for there are several things which have for some time been a matter of so much uneasiness to me, that I thought, could they not at this time be somehow accommodated, I should be obliged to recede from the Connexion, which to do, would have been one of the most disagreeable things in the world to me. I would fain live and die in this happy relation I have for many years borne, and still bear to you.

Two of the most material points were concerning *imputed righteousness*, and *Christian perfection*. But as to the former, what you declared to be your notion of it at Heptonstall, is so near mine, that I am well satisfied. And as to the other, your resolutions in Conference are such, if John Emmet informs me right, as seem to afford me sufficient satisfaction.

There are other matters more, but to me of not equal importance, to which, notwithstanding, I cannot be reconciled; such as asserting,—‘a child of God to be again a child of the devil, if he give way to temptation. That he is a child of the devil, who disbelieves the doctrine of sinless perfection. That he is no true Christian, who has not attained to it, &c., &c.’ These are assertions very common with some of our preachers, though in my apprehension, too absurd and ridiculous to be regarded, and therefore by no means of equal importance with what is above said; and yet have a tendency, as the effect has already shewn, to distract and divide our societies. You will perhaps say, ‘Why do you not admonish them? why did you not endeavour to convince them of the error of such absurd assertions?’ In some degree, I have, though perhaps not so fully or freely as I ought, or could have wished to have done; for I feared to be charged by them, perhaps secretly to yourself, with opposing them or their doctrines. These things I mentioned to brother Lee, who declared, and I could not but believe him, that you did, and would utterly reject any such expressions. I am therefore in these respects more easy, and shall, if such occasions require, as I wish they never may, reprove and prevent them with plainness and freedom.

“*Sinless perfection* is a grating term to many of our dear brethren; even to those who are as desirous and solicitous to be truly holy in heart and life, as any, perhaps, of them who affect to speak in this unscriptural way. Should we not discountenance the use of it, and advise its votaries to exchange it for terms less offensive, but sufficiently expressive of true Christian holiness? By this I mean (and why may I not tell you what I mean?) all that holiness of heart and life,

which is, *literally, plainly, abundantly*, taught us all over the Bible, and without which no man, however justified through faith in the *righteousness of Christ*, can ever expect to see the Lord. This is that holiness, that Christian perfection, that sanctification, which, without affecting *strange, fulsome, offensive, unscriptural* expressions and representations, I, and I dare say, every true and sincere hearted member in our societies, and, I hope, in all others, ardently desire and strenuously labour to attain. This is attainable; for this, therefore, let us contend; to this let us diligently exhort and excite all our brethren daily; and this the more, as we see the day, the happy, the glorious day approaching.* Could any definition of scriptural holiness be plainer or more comprehensive than the above, provided *faith* be added to strenuous labour?

Grimshaw goes on to say, "I have only to add, that I am determined through the help of God, so far as I know or see at present, to continue in close connexion with you, even unto death, and to be as useful as I am able, or is consistent with my *parochial* or other indispensable obligations; chiefly in this round, and at times abroad, to strengthen your hands in the great and glorious work of our Lord, which you have evidently so much at heart, elaborately so much in hand, and in which He, blessed for ever be His name, has so extensively and wonderfully prospered you. I am, dearest sir, your unworthy, but affectionate younger brother,

W. GRIMSHAW."

In the circuit record of October 15th, there are four travelling preachers in the round receiving payment; Thomas Johnson, John Gibbs, Jonathan Catlow, and William Rodd; and also a probationer, George Hudson.

Thomas Johnson was born at Wakefield in the year 1720. He is another instance of a man called remarkably by the Holy Spirit for long-continued, useful service in the church. His mother was left a widow when Thomas was six years old. She was a churchwoman living up to her light, and the testimony he bears to her training and its effects ought to encourage parents of to-day to form godly habits in their children. To do this more extensively would greatly counteract the looseness and indifference which marks the life of our young people. Mr. Johnson says, "I was the youngest of three children, two of us she always took to the church, and to the sacrament, as soon as we were of a proper age. She kept us in the house on a Lord's Day, where we constantly read the chapter

* Myles, 39.

out of which the text was taken, the lessons and psalms for the day, and the *Christian's Pattern* by Thomas à Kempis. We were so accustomed to this method that we had no inclination to spend the Sabbath in any other way. Indeed, her conduct was such towards us that we both feared and loved her."

When eighteen years of age he went to learn the business of a carpenter, and fell into sinful courses of life, but though stung by remorse was held back from the grosser forms of transgression. Ten years later, 1748, the Methodist preachers came to Horbury where he was living, and he went to hear them, and liked what they said, but was much influenced by the hostile attitude of the vicar and curate, and in doubt as to whether he should go near them any more or not.

The next door neighbour, a Methodist woman, was the instrument of Mr. Johnson's conversion. One evening she called at the house and engaged in religious conversation, to which he listened with great interest. Observing this, she said, "Young man, if I am not mistaken, you have had convictions."

"Her words," he says, "went to my heart in such a manner as I had never felt under any sermon. I wished to be alone. As soon as she was gone I retired, and began to ponder on the word *Conviction*. I said to myself, 'Conviction! what can this be? I do not know what conviction means.' However, I thought, it means something very good; something from God. I fell upon my knees before the Lord, and prayed as I had never done before, and desired that he would give me convictions. The Lord regarded my simplicity, and answered my prayer. I saw and I felt myself a hell-deserving sinner. The hair of my head seemed to stand upright through fear; and I felt as if Satan himself was standing behind my back. However, I cried unto the Lord for help, and that distressing temptation was suspended. For several days I longed for the return of the evening, that I might be with the Methodists, in order to have some spiritual assistance. I asked several how long they were under conviction, before they found the peace of God? Some told me a longer, others a shorter space of time. I thought I could never bear my trouble so long; and on the other hand, I thought I was not sufficiently in earnest to find the blessing very soon. But God remembered that I was but dust, for in a few days, as I was passing from our next door neighbour's house, the burden which I felt fell off in a moment, and whether I was in the body, or out of the body, I could scarcely tell. I was as light as a feather. When I heard the preaching now, I found life and immortality were indeed brought to light by the Gospel."

Mr. Johnson became a local preacher, and in 1752 entered the ranks of the Itinerancy, labouring faithfully thirty-two years in various circuits, and thirteen as a supernumerary located at Birstall. In the early part of his ministry he suffered much from cruel and unreasonable men, but he never shrunk from the cross, and went triumphantly to receive the crown on October 18th, 1797, in the 78th year of his age.

John Nelson visited him in his dying moments, and found him triumphing in the God of his salvation. He said, " ' It is finished! It is finished! ' and looking upon us with a heavenly smile, added, ' Christ is precious. He is all in all. There is no other foundation; and I want no other. He is all-sufficient. God over all. I am fixed upon the Rock, the Rock of Ages. ' "

In the lives of the early Methodist preachers, as in this case, it is a notable fact, that despite the widespread corruption and indifference of the time, there were God-fearing men and women to be found in town and village. Bigoted they were in many cases, and persecutors often of the Methodists, until they knew them better, but bringing up their children in some fear of God and practice of righteousness. Such soil was infinitely better prepared for the reception of the truth than a community pervaded by Roman or Ritualist teaching. The country was substantially Protestant and open to Bible truth, enforced by men filled with the Spirit's power and illustrating it by their lives.

Of John Gibbs and George Hudson no record exists; but we know something of William Rodd, and Jonathan Catlow. William Rodd is described as low of stature, but possessed of a great and noble mind, deeply serious, pious, and devoted to God; and remarkably zealous in promoting the present and eternal happiness of men. His conscience was tender in the extreme; and for want of better information, and from a fear of sinfully indulging the flesh, he even denied himself food, in quantity sufficient to support his constitution. This, in the judgment of his friends, shortened his valuable life. Atmore says he departed this life in the sure and steadfast hope of the complete and eternal fruition of God in the year 1760. Myles gives the year 1761. Both must be wrong, as he was in the Haworth round in 1762, the last payment made to him being July 15th.

Jonathan Catlow, the third on the list of preachers for 1761, belonged to a godly family of Methodists. John Catlow, of Scar Top, in the Keighley circuit, was a man of exemplary piety, and a useful class leader and local preacher. Another member of the family, Samuel Catlow, of Twolaws, near Haworth, for nearly sixty years walked humbly with God,

having scarcely ever lost a sense of his acceptance. For more than eight years he was seldom in bed, being the subject of painful affliction; yet he never murmured. He died March 8th, 1826 in his eighty-third year.

Soon after Jonathan Catlow's conversion to God, he was deeply impressed with a conviction that he was called to preach the gospel. He opened his mind to his mother, and, though he was only sixteen years of age, she encouraged him to make a trial. He preached his first sermon in a house called Lough, near the edge of the moor, his auditors being a few old women, and as his mother was the better reader of the two, she gave out his hymns. Jonathan, it was said, had done very well, and from that day he continued in the work.

We find him attending the Conference of 1753 in Leeds, and appointed as one of the four preachers in the Newcastle round. The assistant in this round that year was Christopher Hopper, whom we have already had to notice as one of Wesley's most notable preachers. Catlow was afterwards stationed in Ireland, where he married. He narrowly escaped being taken for a soldier by a press-gang on the vessel in which he returned to England. Jonathan Catlow was blessed with a considerable degree of heavenly wisdom, and fervent zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. He had to share the common lot of early Methodist preachers. In one place where he had been preaching, the mob contrived to dig a deep pit in the middle of the road on which he had to return home. They had filled the pit with water, with the intention that he should tumble into it. When he came near the place he perceived their design and quietly turned aside, thus escaping the danger. The foremost of the mob, supposing Mr. Catlow had fallen into the pit, came rushing forward and fell in themselves; and their fellows, before they were aware of their mistake, shared in their fate and folly, while the object of their malevolence quietly proceeded home.*

Catlow was in the Haworth round in 1761. In the year following he left the ranks, on account of some difference with Wesley on the subject of sin in believers. He took up his abode in Keighley, just at a time when the town was visited with a malignant fever, of which many of the inhabitants died. Being invited to attend the funeral of one of them, and it being the custom to carry the corpse to the grave by hand, he carried at the head, and used his pocket handkerchief to take hold of the handle of the coffin. When the corpse was set down, he wiped his face with the handkerchief. It is supposed that by

* Atmore Memorial, etc.

this means he caught the fever. After suffering much he died exceedingly happy, in the flower of his age, about the year 1763. He desired the well-known hymn to be sung at his funeral:—

Jesu, Thy blood and righteousness
My beauty are, my glorious dress;
Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,
With joy shall I lift up my head.

He likewise requested a sermon to be preached at his funeral from I. John iii., 2. It is worthy of remark that in connection with the event such a revival of the work of God took place in the town and neighbourhood as had never been known before.

His nephew, the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson, says—"My uncle lived and died a holy man." He was remarkable for preaching in his sleep, some particulars of which Mr. Wesley has given in his journal. His widow, Maria Catlow, lived at the preacher's house, and entertained the preachers on their visits to the Keighley society, and her name frequently appears in the accounts for payments for food, washing, &c. She was married a second time, in 1780, to John Clark Gardiner, and died 1816, aged 80 years.

I introduce another unpublished letter of John Nelson, which reveals the influence upon his mind of the reported high church views expressed by Charles Wesley:—

"To the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, at the New Room, in the Horse Fair, Bristol, 8.

Clayworth, Oct. 31st, 1761.

Dear Sir,

This is with my best love to you and earnest prayers for you and yours, and all the Church of God in that place. I received your letter a long time after the date of it, wherein you ask if I have forgot you. I answer, No. I do not know that there hath one day passed since I left Bristol but you have been brought to my mind when I bow my knees before the Lord to pray in private. But I omitted writing to you when I was about to write, through Mr. Venn sending a letter from London, in a triumphant manner, that Mr. Walker had converted you to his notions, and that you was contradicting what you and your brother, and all of us, had been preaching for two and twenty years. It put a stop to me, though in my heart I did not believe him, for men of his principles will do all they can to keep people from perfecting holiness in the fear of God. But God will work in spite of all His opposers, and I think I never saw a greater work than we had in York round last year.

There was four in and near Thirsk that died as great witnesses that Christ had saved them to the utmost as ever I saw, or ever read of; and in three months we had three score and seven professed to have received forgiveness of sins, and twelve that professed to receive the full liberty of the sons of God; and upward of a hundred joined in the round in the same time. Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Christ be all the glory given.

"I was in hopes to have seen you at London and to have told you of these things. When I was last near Hulton Ridley, in York round, there came an old man into the house where I was, with hair as white as wool. He pulled off his hat, kneeled down on the floor, and lifted up his hands and said, 'O God I bless Thee; I praise, I desire to give thanks unto Thee with my whole heart for sending Thy servants to this place to preach the gospel. But above all for sending Thy Son to save such a poor hell-deserving sinner as me. O Lord, I have provoked Thee to Thy face for fourscore and four years, and after all I had done to damn my soul by infecting them with cursing and swearing, by drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking, Thou hast blotted out all my sins with the blood of Thy dear Son.'

"I think it would have made the hardest heart in the world to melt to hear him, and to see the tears drop off his chin to the ground, that made marks on the floor as big as a shilling. After he got up he told that the first time he heard he was pierced to the heart, and that hour he received power over drunkenness and swearing, and all outward sin. But he never had assurance that God for Christ's sake had forgiven his sins till Sunday noon preaching at Richard Dobson's; but now he was as sure it was so as that he had ever sinned against the Lord.

"The same day a girl of eleven years talked with me and gave as clear account of God convicting and converting her soul as any woman could do. Indeed I found it good for my soul to be in that round, and God was good to me in supporting my body, for I was not hindered by affliction from preaching once in the whole year, and I bless His holy name that I find Him present in this round, for several professes to have found pardon since we came from the Conference; and in Epworth God is both deepening His work in the souls of them that have been from the beginning, and widening His work by increasing the number of believers. On Sunday three weeks, one that had been joined 16 years received a clear sense of pardon, that used to say she was like Gideon's fleece, always dry when the whole floor was watered. But, she said, 'I have not waited in vain, for God hath poured His Spirit into my

heart like a well of water. O that I may praise Him to all eternity.' A young man belonging to Epworth died last Saturday in full triumph; he had professed faith two years. He had always attended class and band; his name was Michael Sutton. Sunday before he died he declared that the Lord had finished His work, and that there was nothing between God and his soul. He believed that that promise in our Lord's sermon belonged to him, for he said the Lord had appeared the second time, and had broke in upon his soul in such a manner that his tongue could not express, but he was sure that by His blood and His Spirit his heart was made clean, and he should see the King in His beauty, and sing praises to the great Three-one for ever and ever. Sister Smith and Sister Sceasons was with him when he died. A few minutes before he expired he took Sister Smith by the hand and said, ' Help me to pray and to praise.' She kneeled down and besought the Lord to receive his soul, and he said, ' Amen, amen,' and sweetly fell asleep in the arms of God. There is two more dead at Amcoats, near Crool, since I came into the round, David Hill and Thomas Belton, and they finished their course with joy, and their deaths hath stirred up many to hear the word that would not hear before. My wife joins with me in love to you and yours, and all friends at Bristol; she is at Epworth. Mr. Hulton and Mrs. Hulton, and Brother and Sister Smith, joins in love to you, and would be glad to see you once more in the land of the living; and I desire you to give my kind love to friend Viget and all his father's family; they are often brought to my mind at the throne of grace; and I beg an interest in all your prayers, and all the church to pray for me as I do for you all, and I should be glad to hear from you. I shall but stay two weeks at Epworth, and then go to Grimsby and stay till Christmas. This from your unworthy Brother in Christ, and as a son to serve in the gospel.

I pray you tell our son we give our blessing to him, and love to all at Kingswood, and tell them we are all well. I should be glad to hear how Sister Jones and Brother Gee finished their course. May God bless you and yours. Amen.

JOHN NELSON."

January 14th, 1762, Bacup and Miller Barn contribute £1 1s. 6d. by Wm. Rodd. Oulerton 12s. by Wm. Rodd. To Mr. Rodd £1 10s. is given toward paying for a horse. Alex. Coates again appears as one of the round preachers; and Richard Henderson, who that year began to travel, receives 6s.

April 14th, Walton, near Preston, contributes 10s. 6d.; Bishopside, £1 14s. 7d.; Lofthouse, 6s. 10d.; and Hawksworth, 14s. 6d.

October 14th, Fall Barn, 6s., by W. Darney; Booth Fold, 6d., by W. Darney.

The preachers on the round, after the Conference of 1762, were Jeremiah Robertshaw and Wm. Darney.

Of Mr. Robertshaw little is known beyond the fact that he continued in the itinerancy until he was completely worn out in the Master's service, and after many years of great physical suffering died at Bradford, February 7th, 1788.

As we have already traced the earlier part of Darney's career, and shown that as a pioneer in this round he deserves to be known and remembered, despite his eccentricities, we will now give all that can be gathered respecting the future of his life, because no memoir of the man has hitherto been compiled.

When Darney was stationed a second time in the Haworth round, the stipend had somewhat improved, for we find January 16th, 1763, W. Darney, £3 5s., which shows that the yearly income of preachers was then £13. For his horse he received £3 1s 7d. For his journey to London, July 7th, 1763, I presume to attend Conference, £1 15s. 6d.

At the Conference of 1763 Darney and other five preachers were appointed to labour in Cornwall, one of these being Thomas Rankin, from whom we learn what Wesley then thought of Darney:—

“My companions in the west were Messrs. Brammah and Stevens; those in the east were Messrs. Oldham, Darney, and Whitehead, who were truly alive to God, and they were blessed to the people wherever they preached. Brother Darney had preached for years; he had been eccentric in his manner of labouring in the Connexion, and Mr. Wesley, with my brethren, thought I might be able to cure him. For a season he behaved pretty well, and was ready to be advised; but he relapsed into his former conduct, and advanced opinions in public contrary to the Methodist doctrine and discipline; so that we were obliged to call in a young man to labour in his place, and dismiss him from the circuit, and that by Mr. Wesley's express approbation. The greatest hurt he did was in the society at Plymouth Dock, where he nearly divided the people. My other fellow-labourers were steady and alive to God, and much blessed in their labours. The work of God more or less prospered in every society in the county. In two or three months hundreds were added to the societies in the west, and many savingly brought to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. Many backsliders were restored, and a most wonderful change took place in every parish where the gospel was preached. Most of the country villages were like Eden,

and as the garden of the Lord! It was not uncommon for ten or twenty to find peace with God in one day, or at one sermon or love feast, in many places."

Mr. Rankin evidently found the cure of Darney an impracticable work and appealed to Wesley for help. Writing from London, Nov. 6th, 1764, Wesley says "I shall write to Plymouth Dock this post. I hope John Cattermole (a sound man) will come and help you. I shall either mend William Darney, or end him. He must not go on in this manner."

Cattermole did not come. In a letter to Rankin, Dec. 15th, 1764, Wesley says, "John Cattermole sticks fast at Kingswood and can get no farther. I will send a man down to W. Darney, that is as rough as himself, namely, T. Bryant. But he is much changed for the better, and I think will not now jar with you. You need not, indeed, be very near one another: Cornwall is wide enough. Otherwise let T. Bryant stay in Devonshire and Peter Price move westward. I wish you could conquer J. Paynter, too. And who knows? Love may do the deed."

We have seen from Rankin's narrative that his authority, and Wesley's, in the end prevailed, and Darney was removed to London, where doubtless it was hoped he would be more under control, and might keep to the preaching of the standard doctrines of Methodism.

In private life, at least, he adhered to his opinions. This we gather from the Life of the Rev. J. Valton. Mr. Valton was at that time living in London, and passing through trying exercises of soul. He afterward became a very useful itinerant preacher.

October 18th, 1765. He says, "I heard Mr. Darney at 5 expound the 63rd Psalm. This preacher was a native of Scotland and educated in high Calvinistic opinions. On joining Mr. Wesley he professed a belief in the Methodist doctrines, yet the doctrine of justification as taught by Mr. Wesley he did not believe; and his favourite doctrine of the final and unconditional perseverance of the saints he never renounced. Notwithstanding these opinions, Mr. Darney was a most laborious missionary man for more than 20 years, chiefly in the manufacturing districts and in the North of England. It is true he did not preach these doctrines very openly, but he would do it in conversation with a friend, and in remote corners of the land."

October 21st, 1765. "This evening Wm. Darney drank tea with me at my lodgings, and the conversation proved hurtful to me. I told him that for some time I had been wrestling with God for a clean heart, and for an instantaneous deliverance from inward impurity. To my great surprise and

discouragement he said there was no such thing attainable on earth; that the notion was quite unscriptural; that while we are on earth, we must be growing in grace, and always receiving fresh supplies of strength; and consequently that the notion of an instantaneous deliverance was quite unfounded.

"I retired and wrote as under:—'Then, Lord, if this be true I shall one day fall by the hand of Satan, who is ever following men for destruction. Where, then, is Thy great salvation? Ah! Come death, thou great sanctifier, thou joint saviour with Christ, thou that preparest us for glory, and deliver me from sin! Christ has done His part in the purchase of redemption, and in preparing me for thy finishing hand.' After this discourse I almost despaired of holding out to the end. I would have given a thousand pounds, had I so much money at command, not to have heard it. Otherwise I was blest under Mr. Darney's sermons. I see when we enter the field against the world, the flesh, and the devil, we must hang out the bloody flag—to conquer or die;—no quarter to the old man;—and victory is sure to the persevering soul."

"The Calvinists liked to hear Darney, and gave him the appellation of 'Scotch Will.' Once he was indeed put to confusion in a very remarkable manner, as was related to me by an aged Baptist minister in the North. He preached in a yard, and during his discourse reverted to this favourite subject of perseverance. He declared that the saints could never fall; no, so sure as he stood there, they could never fall. The preacher here augmented the emphasis of his words by a heavy stamp of the foot, when in went the head of a large cask on which he was standing, and along with it the preacher. Being corpulent, his friends had great difficulty in extricating him."*

In the year 1766 Darney travelled in the Yarm circuit; in 1767 in Newcastle; and in 1768 in Derbyshire. Beyond the places of appointment we have no record of those years.

From the History of Methodism in Almondbury, published in 1864, we learn that in 1770 Darney resided at Thong, near Holmfirth.

As a supernumerary he would have a mere pittance to live upon, the Preachers' Fund only allowing about 4s. per week to those recognised. It is not clear whether Darney was in that position, as his name does not appear upon the Minutes after 1768. Probably he and other preachers able to follow some occupation, preferred to take their place among the local preachers, and make a better livelihood by trade than the society's allowance afforded. He might resume his rounds as

* Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, M.A., 1830.

a pedlar, at the same time preaching the gospel; and we infer that he did so, or he could never have found his way weekly to Almondbury, near Huddersfield, which, in 1770, he was accustomed to do.

At first he found seven members in society; they increased, however, in one month to thirty-two; and this rapid accession seems to have infuriated the enemies of Methodism in the place, and raised up violent persecution. To this the rabble were incited by their clergyman, Mr. Amstead, who had often told them from the pulpit that he was quite sufficient for the ministerial work in the place, and that they should have no other teacher. A person named John Kaye was then both clerk and deputy constable. He, together with the minister, was greatly enraged against the Methodist preachers. One evening, when Darney had been preaching, the clerk came into the house where he lodged and said that he wished to speak to him. When Darney came out of his room, the clerk seized him, in order to drag him out to the mob that was collected outside the door; but two members of the society, perceiving Darney's danger from the madness of the people if he went outside, got hold of him; and thus, in a violent struggle between friends and foes, Darney's coat was rent; but his friends succeeded in rescuing him from the mob for that time.

The week following Darney visited Almondbury again, and the people peaceably assembled to worship God in the house of Squire Studdurth, licensed for the purpose; but very soon after the service had commenced, a mob gathered about the house. He had taken his text from II. Thes. i., 7-10, "And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, &c.," and while he was exhorting the persecuted followers of the Lord Jesus Christ to take courage, the clerk came in, followed by the enraged people, and, holding his constable's staff in his hand, said, "I charge thee in the name of King George to come down." Darney immediately replied, "I charge thee in the name of the King of Kings that thou let me go on with my sermon." To this the clerk made no other reply than, "Pull him down." The mob forthwith seized Darney, tore his venerable white locks, and he fell heavily on the ground, much injured; for he was a very corpulent man. His friends rallied round him, and, with great difficulty, led him to his chamber, where they hoped he would be safe from further violence; but notwithstanding all their efforts, the mob followed him there, and dragged him into the street. There they threw him down, fell upon him, and kicked him most unmercifully with their iron-

shod clogs. They then forced him down the street as far as the vicarage, and there again threw him down, and used him in the most barbarous manner, until it was feared that his life would be sacrificed to their rage. He, however, at length escaped to his lodgings, though much injured.

To these barbarities the Almondbury Methodists would have tamely submitted, had not their friends from Tong come over and insisted on the propriety of seeking protection from the law. The poor persecuted Methodists, with their all-but-martyred preacher, applied to the Rev. Mr. Nauch, vicar of Sandal and Justice of the Peace. Before they arrived at Sandal, they were informed that letters had been sent by the clergyman of Almondbury against them, evidently intended to prejudice the magistrate.

On the day appointed by the magistrates, the clerk, with his accomplices, arrived, bringing as a vindication of their conduct and that of the lawless mob, the notorious Five Mile Act, passed in the reign of King Charles II. The justice, to his honour asked Kaye why he had brought that Act to him? "That Act," said he, sternly, "is for thee and thy mob; and as Mr. Darney is a licensed preacher, and was preaching in a licensed house, you might as well have pulled me down when preaching in my own church; and if you do not settle this business before the quarter sessions, both you and all concerned in this brutal affair will be transported." It appears they had gone to Sandal in high spirits, assuring themselves of victory, and had given orders that the bells should commence ringing on their return. They were, however, painfully disappointed, and had to slink into the town in disgrace. The matter was soon after settled between the two parties.

But although the violence of persecution was somewhat abated by these proceedings, the Methodists had still to meet with considerable opposition, for in this year, 1770, the class meeting was held at five o'clock on Sunday morning in order that persecution might be eluded; and the attendance was very regular even at that early hour. One of the members of that class, Abraham Moss, who was a Methodist for seventy years, frequently adverted in his latter days to those days of trial, and his testimony shows how God, as on eagles' wings, supported His triumphant people. "How did we then love each other! How glad we were to see each other! and how happy we were when we met together." The Rev. Robert Roberts, then travelling in the Birstall circuit, visited Almondbury, and was entertained at Abraham's house. The mob surrounded it and did considerable damage by pelting the door, &c., with stones

and mud. Abraham went out and endeavoured to appease the people; but they used him most shamefully, beating him with the bough of a tree besmeared with offensive filth, thus spoiling his new clothes. Meanwhile the preacher fled by the back door, and was invited into the house of a publican, who protected him until he could escape to Huddersfield.

Some idea of the thirst for the word which these early Methodists felt, and the labour they put forth to have it, may be gathered from the fact that, owing to no regular preaching being established for some time at Almondbury, Abraham Moss had to walk to Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds, to hear the Methodist preachers. The nearest places were Tong, South-royd, and Huddersfield.

We have seen how the Lord made members of Darney's congregations to triumph in persecutions, let us hear his own words on the subject. "I have known, by happy experience, that when I have been in the greatest extremity of sufferings for my dear Lord and Master's sake, when I have been preaching in several places, among the inhabitants of this land, when at times I did not expect to escape with my life, God in rich mercy, and in His great wisdom and mighty power, made always a way for my escape. I say, I have found in the greatest extremity of suffering, always most of God's presence, when the sons of wickedness have been permitted to abuse my body, and tear my clothes in pieces. Yet my soul in the same time was like a watered garden, and I could say experimentally with holy David, 'Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over.' Psalm xxiii., 5. I have at times tasted of the martyrs' cup, praised be my God Who counted unworthy me worthy of this honour for His name and gospel's sake. There was one time in particular, when the persecutors had taken and tumbled me over head and ears into a nasty hole, full of mire, with my enemies dancing and pushing one another on the top of me. Indeed, I was infinitely more happy in that hole than all my enemies could have been if they had been lying on beds of down, for there my soul did lean on my beloved's breast. I found such a manifestation of God's love as made me that I found not pain, but I experimentally felt something of the heaven of heavens in my soul."*

Having given all that can be compiled respecting this pioneer of Methodism in Yorkshire and Lancashire,—faults and failings, as well as zeal and good works—we must leave him in full hope that at the end his own words would be his experience. "For my own part I believe if I were to die this day,

* Fundamental Doctrines, 196-7.

I should die happy in the Lord Jesus, because He hath given me to know in Whom I have believed (thanks be to His holy name), without doubting for many years past, and I am assured (glory and praise be to God, yea even my God for ever and ever) that He hath sealed unworthy me to the day of eternal redemption. Yet I believe that if I were to live a hundred years longer in this world, I should always stand the same need of Christ to keep and save me every moment, and be my advocate with the Father till He is pleased to take me up into glory with Himself, to enjoy the fulness of His glorious presence for ever in a happy eternity."*

It is not known how long Darney continued to live at Thong; probably only a year or two.

"It is well known that Darney spent several of the later years of his life at Southfield, near Colne, and that he afterwards removed to a cottage at Upper Houses, Barley, and died there in the year 1779, preferring the neighbourhood of Pendle Forest, because it resembled the scenery of his native country, Scotland. The old house is still standing, though unoccupied, surrounded by two or three farmsteads, not far from Windy Harbour, to which, it is said, Darney walked every week for a pound of butter, which would then cost him three pence. He is described as a very feeble, white-haired old Christian. It is probable Darney was buried at New Church in Pendle. In the decline of life he possessed the peace which passeth all understanding. His communion with God was deep, and he died in the unclouded hope of a blessed immortality."†

In this village of Barley the erection of the chapel illustrates the devotion to Methodism on the part of our forefathers, even so lately as the year 1831. There was in the village a general desire to build. How the site was acquired is not related, but permission was obtained to get stone in a quarry at the back of Barley Green. Mr. Robinson Hartley, who in the days of hand loom weaving kept a dandy shop, facilitated the erection of the chapel by stopping the dandy shop on Monday afternoons, and supplying the necessary tools for quarrying. Many of the weavers, and all interested in the building of the chapel, exerted themselves in the conveyance of the stone to the chosen site. A cart was borrowed, and two men, James Heyworth and John Crabtree, alternately did the work of a shaft horse, whilst others pushed behind, and thus the stone was conveyed. Various tenders were presented, but the proposition of one of the people that no tender should be accepted but that all should help to erect the chapel, free of expense,

* Fundamental Doctrines, 168.

† From a newspaper cutting given me by Rev. W. Jessop.

being unanimously agreed to, the chapel was built at a very trifling cost.

In the year 1762 Lady Huntingdon and her circle of ministerial friends appear to have been in very friendly relation with Wesley and his preachers, for on the 9th of August she attended the Conference held in Leeds when Messrs. Romaine, Madan, Venn, and Whitefield, were also present.*

Lady Huntingdon's catholicity, and that of Grimshaw, are seen in the aid they gave to Titus Knight when he left the Methodists and took charge of a Congregational church in Halifax.

When Titus Knight changed his doctrinal views, and set up as an Independent in Halifax, and a chapel had to be built for him, Grimshaw undertook to beg for it. "He was no bigot; he made no distinction of sect or party the measure of his love to Christians. He used to say, 'I love Christians, true Christians, of all parties; I do love them, I will love them, and none shall make me do otherwise.'" He thus writes to Lady Huntingdon, on Nov. 20th, 1762:—

"Madam,—Your last letter has remained a long time unanswered; but I know you will excuse what may appear neglect, when informed I have been about my Master's business. Indeed, I have the pleasure of assuring you that the Lord's work prospers amazingly among us. My exhortations are visibly blessed, and I bless God daily and hourly for it. The societies are everywhere in a good state. The Lord is adding to them many seekers of the blessed Jesus—many lively souls who have come to a sense of the pardoning love of God, and are eagerly hungering and thirsting after your inestimable Redeemer and mine.

"I have had two visits from Mr. Knight. He professed great love and respect for your ladyship, and acknowledges his deep obligations for the light and knowledge you were instrumental in communicating to him. He is actively labouring to rescue sin-slaved souls from the kingdom of darkness, and the Lord has put honour on his testimony, by giving him souls to his ministry. The people among whom he is sowing the seed of the kingdom are poor, their means are very limited, yet the Lord has put it in their hearts to build a house for the preaching of His word. Now I have come to the point—can your ladyship spare a mite to aid these worthy souls? The demands on your generosity I know to be great, and on that account I feel a repugnance at asking, because I am persuaded you would give, even to the gown on your back, if the case required it. Blessed be God, Who has furnished you with means, and with

* L.H., 1-281.

a heart inclined to dispense the unrighteous mammon for the good of others. But you are the Lord's; all you have is His, and bless and praise Him night and day for employing you in His service. May He bless you, sanctify you, and make you abundantly useful in your day and generation! He has raised you up for the accomplishment of a mighty work in the land. I may not live to witness it, but I shall assuredly see some of the triumphs of the cross, the blood-bought slaves, the ransomed captives, rescued from the tyranny and slavery of the great enemy of souls, in the chapels of your ladyship, all arrayed in robes of dazzling white, and washed from every defilement in the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, praising and blessing Him Who hath made them kings and priests unto God and the Lamb for ever. Yes, when I am before the throne—then I shall see, and hear, and know what you have been made the instrument of accomplishing upon earth; and at last we shall meet as *two poor worthless sinners*, stripped of every fancied good, to bless and praise Him through eternity!

"I hope ere long to see my dear brother Whitefield in his own pulpit again. When will your ladyship revive us with another visit? What blessings did the Lord shower upon us the last time you were here! and how did our hearts burn within us to proclaim His love and grace to perishing sinners! Come and animate us afresh—aid us by your counsels and your prayers—communicate a spark of your glowing zeal, and stir us up to renewed activity in the cause of God. All the dear Apostles go on well—all pray for your dear ladyship, and all long for your coming amongst us again. I have been a long round since you were here, and have seen brothers Ingham, Venn, Conyers, and Bentley, all alive, and preaching Christ crucified with wonderful success, and inexpressible benefit to the souls of many.

"Excuse this long, incoherent scribble, and assure yourself I am your ladyship's very unworthy and unprofitable friend and brother,

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW."

To this appeal Lady Huntingdon responded with her accustomed liberality, and a chapel was built which became the home of the Independent Church in Halifax, now located in the Square.

At the commencement of the great revival Wesley had to contend with Antinomianism, through the false teaching to which the Moravians yielded. Then followed contests with Calvinism, which Whitefield embraced, and dissenters, as well as evangelical clergyman, preached in different parts of England, in its most extreme form.

After that, when the doctrine of Christian perfection began to be earnestly preached by the Methodists, and experienced by believers throughout England and Ireland, the devil drove men into enthusiasm which once more merged in Antinomianism.

Thomas Maxfield, whom we have met as one of Wesley's first lay preachers, and George Bell, a converted Life Guardsman, in the year 1762, became leaders in an enthusiastic movement, which eventually resulted in a great division of the societies in and around London.

They were doubtless, in the early part of their religious life, good men, and professed to have attained to high spiritual experiences. But neglecting the caution not to be high minded, they merged into censoriousness and fanciful teachings of an extreme and antinomian tendency, which extended over the years 1761 and 1762, and ever increased in mischievous effects upon the societies.

Grimshaw, in a letter to Charles Wesley, written only a month before his death, deals very faithfully with the fanaticism that was then discrediting the doctrine of sanctification, and also with Bell's prediction of the end of the world. This hitherto unpublished letter is very characteristic of the straightforward writer, destined so soon to leave this world of toil and strife:—

“Haworth, Mar. 5th, 1763.

Dear Sir,

God bless you and yours and Brother Downs. Who wrote last I know not—you or I—judge as you please—this I know, I love you dearly. And as to the Witnesses of Perfection you ask me three questions.

“1st. What think I of their testimony, that at such a time the root of sin was taken away, and the spirit witnessed, &c. In answer to this I say—they are strangers to their own heart or are deluded by the Devil, or fantastically, if not wilfully, belie the Holy Ghost; and if they repent not, I fear at last the devil will have them.

“2nd. That whereas they affirm that a newly-awakened person may receive the promise of perfection before he has either done or suffered the will of God. I answer to this: they may as well take a shorter cut and affirm that a newly-awakened person may receive the gift of sinless perfection, before he has either done the will of God or suffered it. I ask further of these, where is such a thing promised in all the book of God?

“3rd. *Crede, say they, quod habes, et habes.* This I grant in a qualified sense, but not in their's I trow. What our Lord

(Mar. xi.-24) says, I'll swear that whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye have them, &c. But then what is asked must be within compass of his promises, *Non ultra*. But the things they aver or pretend to are *ultra* as I think, and therefore are not to be expected.

"Then you say, 'I shall add no more at present.' But I'll add more at present, and you may add more when you please. Last Monday should have been the Day of Judgment. Therefore to have answered your letter sooner would have been waste labour, time and paper. Something else should be a-doing when the judge is at the door. Besides, the day itself would have revealed the verity or vanity of those perfectionists. But who was mistaken, God or Bell? Just as much truth, I suspect, in all their other reveries. Scriptural or Christian Perfection I allow and avow. Sinless perfection I disclaim. Sinless is not only an unscriptural expression, but I fear, though I will not certainly affirm, has given birth and being to all those extravagant, presumptuous, scandalous and irreligious vagaries among our London brethren. I fear also that some of our own preachers, though honest, good, well-meaning men, have through ignorance of the Holy Scripture, partial quotations of it, self-conceit, and blind zeal, contributed no little to the birth and growth of these extravagances. Where they will end I know not. You said to me two or three years ago, that you feared that the spirit then appearing in them would drive into Ranterism, and so I think it is come to pass. I suppose your good brother has trouble enough to reduce and suppress this wild spirit. It is my comfort to think and assure you that we know little of it in these parts. I hope we never shall. When you write again, and write soon, let me learn more of your sentiments of these witnesses, &c., and I perhaps may also do the same.

"The work of God prospers in these parts. We have took above one hundred of Mr. Ingham's scattered members into society, who behave well, and are very solicitous for the life and power of godliness. I hope we shall pick up many more of them. I rejoice and give God thanks that He hath so renewed your strength, &c.

W. GRIMSHAW."

CHAPTER XIX.

IN the year 1762, the Halifax society appears to have consisted of but thirty-one members, the principal person among them being the talented and influential Titus Knight. His name stood at the head of the trustees for the preaching-house, he was already in fact a star of increasing magnitude, and when he left the connexion, and embraced the Calvinistic belief, he drew many of the congregation, and half of the society, after him. It was a sorrowful time when the remnant met the preacher who next officiated at the preaching-house in Church Lane. At the close of his discourse he requested the members who were still attached to Methodism, to remain a little while longer. After the congregation had departed, the reduced society of sixteen members came into the singers' pew: the preacher, Mr. Wm. Thompson, descended from the pulpit, and they sang, and prayed, and wept. Some were of opinion they had better give up the cause, but the preacher exhorted them to cling to one another, and through God's help they followed his advice, and so weathered the separation; and several who had left the little band afterwards returned to the fold.

It is pleasing to be able to state that Mr. Knight, whilst honest and straight-forward in the search for and exposition of truth, was not narrowed by bigotry. He remained on the most friendly terms with those from whom he had conscientiously seceded, and ever exhibited toward them benevolent and kindly feelings.* We must never think harshly of these seceders. In those days men were thoroughly in earnest in their beliefs, as also in practice, and some of them as sincerely read the Bible in a Calvinistic, as others did in an Arminian sense. Also such was the harassing and excessive fatigue imposed upon the early preachers, that comparatively few could bear up under the load; those who did survive were men of iron constitution. Out of two hundred and eighteen preachers, whom Mr. Myles terms the first race of that order, no less a number than one hundred and thirteen desisted from travelling, and a majority of the rest fell prematurely in the work.†

* Walker's, Halifax, 106.

† Walker's, Halifax, 112.

In the early part of 1763, Haworth was afflicted with a virulent fever, of which many persons died. Grimshaw had a strong presage on his mind that some one of his own family would be added to the number, and he repeatedly exhorted them all to be ready. As for himself, he was not the man to decline calls of duty and affection through apprehension of danger. The fever was highly infectious, and in visiting sick parishioners he caught it. He knew in Whom he believed and felt His support in the trying hour, saying, "Never had I such a visit from God, since I knew Him."

Ingham visited Grimshaw, and in a letter to Lady Huntingdon, gives the following account of his interviews with him:—

"From the moment he was seized with the fever, he felt the sentence of death in himself. When I first saw him he said, 'My last enemy is come! the signs of death are upon me, but I am not afraid—No! no! blessed be God, my hope is sure, and I am in His hands.' When I was pouring out my soul in prayer to the Lord, I mentioned the further prolongation of his life, that he might have more opportunities of being useful; and when I had concluded he said, 'My dear brother Ingham, if the Lord should raise me up, I think I could do more for His glory than I have hitherto done. Alas! what have my wretched services been? and I have need to cry, at the close of my unprofitable course—God be merciful to me a sinner!' On my next visit I found him much worse, and evidently sinking. I mentioned having received a letter from your Ladyship, and delivered your message. He seemed much affected, but after a few moments recovered a little. When I had prayed with him, he said, 'I harbour no desire of life, my time is come, and I am entirely resigned to God.' Then lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, added, 'Thy will be done! Tell her Ladyship, that dear elect woman, that I thank her from the bottom of my heart for all her kindnesses to me during the years that I have known her. With my dying breath I implore every blessing, temporal and spiritual, to rest upon her. May the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, bless her—bless her body, soul, and spirit. I can never repay the spiritual good I have reaped at her hands. O that she may be eminently useful in her day and generation!' At another time he said, laying his hand upon his breast, 'I am quite exhausted, but I shall soon be at home for ever with the Lord—a poor miserable sinner redeemed by His blood.' Mr. Venn having arrived, I shortly after took my leave, but never after saw my dear brother Grimshaw alive."

A dear old friend, Jeremiah Robertshaw, one of the Methodist preachers on the round, called to see Grimshaw

in his last sickness. When they parted, Grimshaw took hold of his hand and said, "The Lord bless you, Jerry; I will pray for you as long as I live; and if there be such a thing as praying in heaven, I will pray for you there also." At another time he said to his housekeeper, "O Mary, I have suffered last night what the blessed martyrs did: my flesh has been, as it were, roasting before a hot fire. But I have nothing to do but to step out of my bed into heaven; I have my foot upon the threshold already." Being asked by one how he did, he said, "As happy as I can be on earth, and as sure of glory as if I was in it." His last words were in perfect conformity with the spirit of his laborious life, "Here goes an unprofitable servant."

Thus died this eminent servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, on the 7th of April, 1763, in the fifty-first year of his age, and in the twenty-first from his settlement at Haworth, the centre of his wide field of usefulness.

Thos Colbeck wrote a letter to Charles Wesley on May 21st, 1763, describing the circumstances of Grimshaw's death. As this letter has never been published, and is the only fragment extant from the pen of Colbeck, I insert it.*

"Rev. and dear Sir,

I should have answered your letter sooner, but expected to have an opportunity of looking over Mr. Grimshaw's papers; and if I could meet with anything for your purpose, I intended to send you a copy; but I believe Mr. Venn desired to peruse them before he published the sermon; and they are in his hand. Before this time I suppose you have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Venn's sermon, to which is annexed a short sketch of Grimshaw's life.

"It would be an acceptable service to thousands in these parts, to be favoured with an elegy on the mournful occasion. You cannot exceed the truth in describing the humility, uprightness, unintermitted labours, and universal love of that man of God who is now inheriting the promises.

"Our dear and much regretted friend was divinely persuaded that, as life had not, so neither could the ghastly tyrant separate him from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. His consolations, from almost the moment the fever seized him, were neither few nor small. He frequently expressed himself as if he was as happy as it was possible to be while clothed with mortality, and as fully satisfied that when the silver cord of life should be loosed, an abundant entrance would be ministered to his joyous soul, into

* Methodist Bookroom.

the holiest, through the blood of atonement, as if he had already been an inhabitant of the heavenly Jerusalem.

"The Apothecary, and all who visited Mr. Grimshaw, were not in the least degree apprehensive of any symptoms attending his disorder, which seemed to threaten dissolution; yet he seemed to have some intimation that the Master called for him: for before he was confined to his bed, he gave directions in writing about his funeral; requesting that he might have a poor man's burial-suit, and a poor man's coffin; and that about twenty of his spiritual brethren and nearest relations, might pay their last respects to what of him could die, by attending his corpse to the place of interment.

"He desired that a Methodist preacher at least might be invited to preach upon Phil. i-21., 'For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain:' a scripture which he caused to be engraved upon the candlestick, pulpit, and walls of the church, and which was exemplified in the whole of his ministerial labours, for about twenty years. He did not cease frequently, and oftener than he sat down to his own table, to distribute to famishing souls the bread of life; and truly he was an able scribe, not accustomed to deal in the false commerce of unfelt truths, but ready to bring out of the treasury of a rich experience things new and old. It was the meat and drink of Mr. Grimshaw to labour for God; and he never appeared to be so much in his proper element as when he was about his heavenly Father's business."

The forethought and piety of Grimshaw's funeral arrangements will be appreciated, if we consider what was then the custom at funerals,—and even in comparatively recent times. At the funeral of the Rev. J. Charnock, the second minister of Haworth in succession to Mr. Grimshaw, in 1819, about eighty people were bidden to the arvell, or funeral feast, the cost of which averaged 4s. 6d. per head, a considerable item in those days, all of which was defrayed by the friends of the deceased.

In compliance with his own desire, Grimshaw's remains were taken to Ewood, the farm house, near Hebden Bridge, where his son resided, and from thence they were followed to Luddenden church by great numbers, who, with intermingled sighs and tears, sang, at his dying request, all the way from the house to the church. The Rev. Henry Venn, of Huddersfield, preached his funeral sermon in the church yard at Luddenden, and the next day (Sunday) at Haworth, to a numerous and deeply affected assembly, many of whom came from a great distance to testify their respect and veneration for their departed minister.

"Grimshaw was twice married, and survived his second wife. By the first he had a daughter who died young, and a son who survived him about two years. Young Grimshaw married a worthy woman, but drinking was his besetment. He would say to the horse he rode, which formerly belonged to his father, "Once thou carriest a saint; but now thou carriest a devil." The many prayers offered up for him, however, were not in vain. The Lord gave him true repentance, and just before he died, he exclaimed—"What will my father say when he sees me in heaven?"

"No entry is made in the register of the death of Mr. Grimshaw's daughter. I suppose she was buried at Ludden, where he was buried himself, in consequence of a promise he made to his first wife. But for this promise made to the wife of his youth, it was his wish not to be separated in death from his flock—from the children he had begotten in the Lord, and who were to him more dear than life itself."*

In the Methodist Magazine we have a portrait of Grimshaw which the Rev. R. S. Hardy says is taken from a painting by a village artist, and was still in the possession of the painter's daughter. "It may represent the general outlines of his features, but the vigorous life of the man has created in imagination a bright and beaming presence, radiant with the joy of God which filled his soul, and infused into his daily acts the fire and energy of a seraphic zeal."

Among Charles Wesley's papers in the Book Room is a neatly written document of five pages of deepest interest to those who hold in high regard the apostle of Northern Methodism. The writer was Mrs. Joseph Jones, whose husband travelled in the round in 1753, and her testimony confirms a number of particulars in Grimshaw's life which might otherwise be regarded as local reports somewhat exaggerated. Mrs. Jones says, "I was taken ill at Mr. Grimshaw's house, and confined there for six months, during which time he was more than a father to me. I had then the happiness of seeing the glorious life he lived, showing forth the power and goodness of his Saviour and Master (as he was wont to call Him) Whom he loved, honoured and obeyed, in every action, and in every breath. He would often say, 'I love my God and Saviour, but how shall I love Him enough?' He was so filled with love, that at only mentioning the name of God, he has stood still, when I was walking with him, and not been able to speak for ten minutes together. At last he said, 'What shall I do, what can I do to love and serve my God better?' I have seen him

*Extracts from a letter of Rev. C. Radcliffe to Rev. J. Everett, dated Haworth, December 12th, 1826.

so overpowered with love, that he seemed as though he would have taken wing and fled from the altar to the throne of God. At the sacrament, in singing the psalm or hymn, his voice has been so raised that it seemed more than mortal. In prayer afterwards, he had often these words, 'Lord, we have taken hold of the horns of the altar, and will not let Thee go till thou hast blessed us.' There has scarce been a dry eye among the communicants: whose number was seldom short of a thousand.

His love to man was without bounds, and impartial to Christians of all denominations. He used to say, 'I love my God first and best, but not enough. Next to Him, I love my dear brothers Wesley, with whom I am heartily joined, and hope never to be parted in time or in eternity. Next to them I love my dear brother Whitefield, and next to him all the labourers, and all that love and desire to love the blessed Jesus. And I love mankind as well as them.'

If he had rested a day from his outward labour of preaching, he spent at least six hours of it in private prayer, beside reading, meditating, and other Christian duties. In labours he was most abundant and quite indefatigable. He never preached less than twenty times a week. I have known him to preach twenty-eight times. Once he told me he had preached that week thirty-one times. Indeed his whole life was scarce anything else than preaching, prayer, and praise.

Yet he never exacted his dues of the people, but would often tell them in the church, 'I will never have your curses when I am dead, for what I received from my poor labours among you; for I want nothing more than your souls for God, and a bare maintenance for myself.' This he made appear throughout his life; he wore very mean apparel, and lived upon very coarse food, 'which is more than I deserve,' said he.

"I have often heard him tell his parishioners from the pulpit 'If you will be damned, it shall be long of yourselves, (a real Yorkshire expression), 'for I will be clean of your blood.' He used every means he could to save them from the pit. When he knew any that would not come to church, he would give public notice there, that at such a time he should preach at such a man's house, and when there he would say, 'I know I am not welcome, but I will speak to every one under my care concerning his soul. If you will not come to hear, you shall hear me at home. If you will perish, you shall perish with the sound of the gospel in your ears.' When any such were sick and sent for him, he dealt very faithfully with them and said, 'The hand of God is upon you, and the devil is ready to take you, and hell to swallow you up; and now it is, send for

Grimshaw in all haste!’ He has talked thus to the most hardened sinners till their beds have shook under them; and many have been thereby brought to a knowledge of themselves and Christ.

“He told me once, ‘I have buried eighteen of my parishioners this year, and I have good reason to believe that sixteen of them are now in the Kingdom of God.’ He used all means to make his people keep their church. When the law of God could not prevail he made use of the law of man. While the clerk was singing the last psalm, he often stole out of church and visited the public houses, and drove all he found there to church before him. He informed against the ale-house keepers, and made them pay the fine for drawing beer in time of Divine Service. As many as he found in the church yard, he sent to church in like manner; telling them, ‘You came here to go to church and I will make you hear me.’ If he saw any that were trifling or sleeping in the time of service, he would shame them before the whole congregation. On sacrament days he continued in the church from nine to five in the afternoon, and would then often go three or four miles to visit the sick, or some new-born infant likely to die; and at night say ‘I have done nothing for God to-day.’

“In his family duty he exceeded all I ever saw. He rose at five, began singing, ‘Praise God from whom all blessings flow,’ spent an hour in private prayer; then called the family, and read the psalms and lessons for the day, sang a hymn and went to prayers. He then took his leave of them, as if he should see them no more, with ‘God bless you in your souls and in your bodies, and in all you put your hands to this day, and whether you live or die, the Lord grant you may live or die to Him.’ He observed a like form going to bed, which he usually did at eleven.

“In his charity he was so liberal that his friends were afraid he would die in debt. I asked him about it, his answer was, ‘Were I to die to-day, I am not worth an half-penny.’

“When there was any quarrel among Christians, how would he labour to reconcile them. After he had taken much pains to make up a difference between two persons, I heard him say, ‘I beg you upon my knees: I will put my head under your feet, if you will but love one another.’ He then fell upon his knees, and broke into prayers and tears, till all in the house were melted down into tears and perfectly reconciled. In short he aimed at nothing but the glory of God, and the good of all that came in his way. If any had used him ill, as soon as he saw the least repentance in them, or heard the least confession from them, he would take them into his bosom again. I think

in all things from the beginning to the end of my acquaintance with him, I never saw a mortal man like him. The mean opinion he had of himself is hardly to be expressed. He preferred every soul before himself, extolled the weakest messenger of God's sending, praised God for all, and told his people, 'If they despised any of them God might justly take them all away.' After hearing any one of them (Mr. Gilbert in particular) he used to say, 'O how shall I ever preach again after this man!'

'He embraced Christians of all denominations, saying, 'I love them and will love them, and none shall make me do otherwise: and my house shall always be open to them all.' He never stuck at any weather, or suffered it to hinder his labour. In the coldest he never complained of the cold, but thanked God for whatever He sent. He was sometimes very much afflicted in body, but bore it with invincible patience. He often said, 'I expect my stay upon earth will be but short, and I will endeavour to make the best of a short life; and so devote my soul to God as not to go creeping into heaven at last.' He fulfilled his word by redeeming his 'precious, precious time,' as he called it. He could not bear to hear people say they had faith, while their lives said the contrary. He hungered and thirsted after righteousness and pursued it in all he did, saying, 'Holiness is a precious gift and precious privilege. How would he bless God for Jesus Christ, and for all the benefits of His passion, for the gospel and its being preached; for all the means of grace and the hope of glory! It seemed as if he could never praise God enough. 'O God, what hast thou done for us! And what wilt thou do for us hereafter! Surely there is no God like unto our God!'

'He spoke of death with pleasure, as letting him into a better world, and bringing him into the arms of his Saviour. In his conversation, he was edifying at all times. He was always happy in Christ, and never lost sight of Him from the first day of his conversion; yet no one groaned under the bondage of corruption more than he did: and he frequently said, O, if the people knew what a heart I have they would not love and honour me as they do!' God had showed him at the beginning of his course, that he should endure unto the end; which he declared to a very few of his most intimate friends; but he never preached Perseverance as a doctrine, or encouraged others to think themselves past danger of falling. He used great plainness and simplicity in his conversation with all men, sparing neither poor nor rich, but boldly reproving all as necessity required. He often prayed that at last he might give up his account with joy: and he now enjoys the fruit of his prayer in Paradise."

The local result of Grimshaw's labours is described by Newton, of Olney. "The last time I was with him, as we were standing together upon a hill near Haworth, and surveying the romantic prospect around us, he expressed himself to the following purport, and I believe I nearly retain his very words, for they made a deep impression upon me while he spoke:—"When I first came into this country, if I have gone half a day's journey on horseback towards the east, west, north or south, I could not meet with or hear of one truly serious person—and now, through the blessing of God upon the poor services of the most unworthy of His ministers, besides a considerable number whom I have seen or known to have departed this life, like Simeon, rejoicing in the Lord's salvation; and besides five dissenting churches or congregations, of which the ministers, and nearly every one of the members, were first awakened under my ministry, I have still at my sacraments, according to the weather, from three hundred to five hundred communicants, of the far greater part of whom, so far as man, who cannot see the heart (and can therefore only determine by appearances, profession and conduct) can judge, I can give almost as particular an account, as I can of myself. I know the state of their progress in religion. By my frequent visits and converse with them, I am acquainted with their several temptations, trials, and exercises, both personal and domestic, both spiritual and temporal, almost as intimately as if I lived in their families."

"A stranger who had stood upon the same spot, from whence he could see little but barren mountains and moors, would scarce think this declaration credible. But I knew the man well, and of all the men I ever knew, I can think of no one who was less to be suspected of boasting than Mr. Grimshaw."

At that time manufactories would be completely absent, and nothing visible save farm houses, and buildings wide apart. Many of these are still standing, the village of Stanbury, and a few houses clustering together at Sawood, Scartop, and near Oakworth, would be the only hamlets visible in the wide expanse of upland country.

The number found in the Methodist society in Haworth and the hamlets surrounding it at the death of Grimshaw, cannot be taken as indicative of the spiritual results of his work. Though a true Methodist, he was also a staunch churchman,—quite as staunch as Charles Wesley himself, which is clearly proved from the letters inserted in this narrative. He therefore would keep his converts and parochial communicants in the position of avowed members of the Church of England as much as possible; though by building a chapel and preaching

house for the Methodists he seemed to foresee separation at his death, especially as he had formed his church into classes, and appointed leaders, some of whom already ministered as preachers in the Haworth round, and became itinerant preachers before his own death.

Newton, of Olney, confirms this view. He says, "Though Mr. Grimshaw's desire of usefulness, and the pressing invitations he received from different and distant places, induced him to break through the rules of strict parochial order, he was in all other respects a staunch friend to the Established Church; and I believe the number of those who remained in communion with him to the end of his life was much greater than those who withdrew from him. With regard to the latter, the most that can be said against him (if it be indeed against him) is, that he found them little better than heathens, and left them evangelical dissenters."

Among the dissenting ministers and founders of churches in this part of Yorkshire who owed their conversion or spiritual upbuilding to Grimshaw and Methodism, were Titus Knight, of the Square Chapel, Halifax; Dan Taylor, Haley Hill, Halifax and London; Richard Smith, Particular Baptist, Wadsworth; —. Wood, Baptist, Halifax; James Crossley, Booth Chapel; James Hartley, Baptist, Haworth; and Dr. Fawcett, of Wainsgate Chapel, Hebden Bridge.

All these, in the earlier years of their spiritual life, came under the influence of Grimshaw, and his treatment of Titus Knight shows us how brotherly and full of Christian sympathy that was.

CHAPTER XX.

At the Conference of 1763 the preachers appointed to the Haworth round were William Fugill, Daniel Bumstead, John Pawson, and Paul Greenwood.

Wm. Fugill was a native of Rothwell, near Leeds, and began to travel in 1748. When he came to Keighley it pleased God to bless the town with an extraordinary revival, of which we shall hear more anon. Mr. Pawson, one of his colleagues, says of this visitation, "It seemed as if the word of God would carry all before it, men, women, and children were converted on all sides. This continued till the next year when that unhappy man, William Fugill, quenched the sacred fire by his bad conduct. He certainly was a deplorable instance of human instability. He had been savingly converted, became a preacher, was blest with very considerable ministerial abilities, and for some years was much esteemed by the people, and was made a blessing to many. His besetting sin was drunkenness, and in process of time this got the victory over him. In him the words of the wise man were remarkably verified: 'Pride goeth before destruction.' Pride and uncharitableness got hold of him to a high degree, and then his besetting sin easily overcame him." He was put out of the Connexion in the year 1765. However, at the Conference of 1767 he was tried again for a short time, but it was too soon apparent that sin had dominion over him, and, consequently, he was again put away from the Connexion. He then returned to Rothwell, where he spent the residue of his days in poverty and disgrace, and departed this life in the year 1800. We deeply regret to have such a record as this to give, but true history cannot be written unless dark incidents as well as bright are allowed to find a place upon her page.

Until the advent and growth of the temperance movement, the temptations in the way of Methodist preachers were very great. Fermented liquors were believed to be good and useful, and were freely offered to both local and travelling preachers by a hospitable people. Nothing but the grace of God could have kept so many from becoming the victims of alcoholism.

Daniel Bumstead was born at Colchester, in Essex. He was religiously trained among dissenters, but did not attain to a clear assurance until he joined the Methodists. His experience shows

that among the early societies there were cases where the indirect witness, rather than the direct, was the ground of peace.

Mr. Pawson, who knew Mr. Bumstead intimately, says : " I well remember the way in which our deceased brother was brought to be fully satisfied respecting the state of his own soul as to the knowledge of salvation. He was at a certain time exceedingly happy in the love of God, and the words of the Apostle were brought to his mind, attended with divine power, ' Love is of God ; he that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.' Hence he was led to reason thus : That holy heavenly love, which I now feel in my heart, must certainly come from God, according to His own word ; therefore it is a sure evidence of His love to me. I can only love God from a sense of His love to me ; but I am conscious that I do love God ; therefore it is evident that He loves me. I will, and do rejoice in Him as the God of my salvation." From that time he was blest with a sense of his acceptance with God ; and I do not know that he ever lost it.

" My acquaintance with him began in the year 1763, when at the Conference in London we were appointed to labour together in the Keighley circuit. In the course of this year he read the Life of Gregory Lopez, and was captivated with his austere way of life ; this induced him to imitate Lopez in everything except retiring into the desert. He therefore fasted two days in the week, seldom or never went to bed, but either sung and prayed all night, or lay down a short time upon the ground, or in his clothes upon the bed. By these means he brought upon himself a violent attack of sickness, and narrowly escaped death. But being convinced of his mistake, he changed the course of his life, and was mercifully spared for greater usefulness. The work of the Lord abundantly prospered in our hands, and we saw a revival in many parts of the circuit.

" From my own knowledge of Mr. Bumstead I can affirm that he was a holy, upright, faithful man, zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. He was endued with considerable ministerial gifts, and blest with much success in his labours. He constantly visited the poor and sick. To the former, he was sometimes too bountiful, and gave away what was really wanted at home. When his amiable partner expostulated with him, he would answer, ' My dear, we shall not repent of it at the day of Judgment.' The sick he sometimes visited at the hazard of his own life ; once in particular, by so doing, when stationed at Birstall, he caught a malignant fever, from which he recovered with great difficulty."

Mr. Bumstead was tempted to relinquish the itinerant ministry on account of his family connections, and was prevailed

upon to engage in secular things, and settle in London. Mr. Pawson says—"It was a great pity he ever left the public work : he certainly went out of the divine order, and I am inclined to think suffered not a little in his mind on that account." Mr. Atmore says—"It is no little matter to give up that call to man, which has been received from God. This step which Mr. Bumstead took was an unguarded one, and proved very unsuccessful. It cost him much pain and he lamented it even in his last moments. He continued, however, united to the people, and occasionally preached. He departed this life in peace, and went to God in the year 1797."

John Pawson, when appointed to Keighley was in his twenty-sixth year, and the second of his ministry. He was a man who attained a position of great influence in the Methodist Connexion, and was the third President of Conference after the death of Wesley.

We have already seen that James Oddie, then travelling in the Haworth round, was the instrument in awakening young Pawson to concern about his soul. That concern was deep and lasting, and enabled him to confront bitter family prejudice and opposition. A greatly revered father and mother, and all his relatives, in vain tried persuasion and threats. He says : "It gave me inexpressible pain to displease my father, but the salvation of my soul was at stake. My uncle was a single man, and in good circumstances. He had often promised what he would do for me ; but he sent me word that I should never be the better for anything he had, except I left this way ; and he made his resolution good some years afterwards, when he was carried out of time into eternity."

The story of this family opposition is deeply interesting. John's steadfastness and consistent conduct in the end broke it down, and the Methodists were invited to preach in his father's house at Thorner.

Pawson did not easily find the peace of God. For some time he had conviction without feeling. Then he describes a remarkable experience. He says : "I went to a village called Barwick, to hear that heart-searching preacher, Mr. Hosman, and the mighty power of God was present. All on a sudden my heart was broke in pieces, my spirit was deeply wounded, my head was as water, and my eyes fountains of tears ; and before I was aware I was crying aloud with an exceeding bitter cry. The trouble and anguish of spirit I then felt far exceeds all description. I frequently walked eight or ten miles to hear the word preached, and constantly walked six miles to meet my class. I have gone over Black-moor, so called, many a dark night, quite alone, and

when it has been knee-deep in snow. Such were the desires which the Lord gave me, that nothing appeared difficult, nothing hard, that I had to pass through. The love of this world, and all desire of making a figure in life, or of conforming to the customs or fashions of mankind, got their death wound in my mind at that time, and have never recovered strength to this day, and I am persuaded never will."

Pawson heard of the sudden conversion of a poor man who had lived many years without God in the world, and was deeply affected by it. He says: "I returned home and retired to my bed-chamber, but here I had not room sufficient to vent my extreme distress. I therefore went into the barn, where I thought no one could either see or hear me. Here I wept, and prayed, and roared aloud, my distress being greater than I was well able to bear; yet I was not without hope, but had an earnest expectation that, unworthy as I was, the Lord would be gracious unto me. But I was not private as I supposed; I found that my brother was in another part of the barn, in as deep distress as myself; and my father and mother soon heard our cries, and came to see what was the matter. My sister and her husband came also; so that we were now six in number, all in the same state of mind, and in the deepest distress. It was, indeed, an affecting sight, and the more so as we had no one to assist us in any degree, either by prayer, or Christian counsel. But still we were none of us delivered.

"I am satisfied there was nothing, which I believed to be contrary to the will of God, that I had not given up. I was perfectly willing to be saved upon God's own terms, and in His own way, and yet I could not believe. So that, after more than forty years' experience of the mercy and love of God, I am constrained to believe, that faith is the gift and work of God, and that the soul must be under a peculiar influence of the Divine Spirit in the act of believing. The infinitely wise and blessed God is frequently acquainted with the deceitfulness of the human heart, and well knoweth that, in general, what we obtain at an easy rate, we too often set but little value upon. Therefore, that we may highly prize, and properly improve, His grace when we obtain it, He gives us deeply to feel the want of it, and, in a good measure, to know the worth of it, before He imparts it.

"A meeting for extraordinary prayer was appointed for Sunday, March 16th, 1760. I went to that meeting deeply distressed, yet with full expectation of finding the salvation of God. Before the service began a person who tenderly pitied me said, 'Fear not; the Lord graciously visited your father last night, and you will find the blessing this morning; you have been an

instrument in His hand in bringing all the family into the way, and He will not leave you behind.' These words afforded me no comfort, as I knew very well I must not expect salvation because I had done something good, but wholly by grace, through faith in the blood of Christ. . . . I was on my knees in the middle of the room, and, if possible, in greater anguish than ever. I found trouble and heaviness; then called I upon the name of the Lord. He heard me from His holy hill; He spoke, and I heard His voice. He graciously applied that blessed word to my mind, Isaiah, xliii., 1, 'Thou art mine.' In a moment I was perfectly delivered from all my guilty fears; my deep sorrow, my extreme distress were entirely gone. The peace of God flowed into my conscience, and the love of God was shed abroad in my heart abundantly. The deliverance which the Lord had wrought for me was so great, and the change in my mind was so extraordinary, that I never could doubt of my acceptance with God through Christ to this day."

Six weeks after his conversion Pawson was made a class-leader, and he says: "This was a heavy cross, but I dare not refuse taking it up. The first time I met the class, I was brought into a much brighter state of grace than before. From that time I enjoyed the abiding witness of the Spirit; my mind was constantly stayed upon God, and I enjoyed uninterrupted communion with Him. For many years after this, no evil temper, unholy desire, or carnal affection, had any place in my soul; but I was favoured with the continual presence of God."

In the year 1761, Mr. John Johnson, the superintendent of the Leeds circuit, put Mr. Pawson on the plan before he had ever preached at all, being persuaded the Lord had called him to preach the gospel. He durst not decline the work, or refuse, at Mr. Johnson's pressing invitation, to attend the Conference in 1762, when Mr. Johnson, again without Mr. Pawson's knowledge, recommended him for the itinerant ministry. Having, in a conversation with Mr. Wesley, consented to make trial of the work, he was appointed along with five others to the York circuit.

A remark Mr. Pawson makes on this first appointment forcibly shows the nature of the Methodist ministry of that time. "I entered upon my circuit with a single eye, having nothing in view but the honour of God in the salvation of souls; and such was the labour and the many and great hardships the preachers had then to endure, that I rejoiced in hope I should soon be worn out, finish my course, and be happy with God for ever."

Mr. Pawson gives us interesting information respecting the Conference in connection with his visit to that of 1763, held in London. "This was the first time I ever was in London, and

the Conference was held in Spitalfields Chapel. We had no money matters to settle in those days ; but after the preachers' characters were examined, and they were stationed next year, all the time was taken up in speaking upon spiritual subjects."

Howell Harris was present, and when some of the preachers began to question the power Mr. Wesley exercised over them and the societies, he pleaded effectually for that man of God, saying among other things—"If Mr. Wesley should, at any time, abuse his power, who will weep for him if his own children will not?" These simple words had an astonishing effect upon the minds of the preachers ; they were all in tears on every side, and gave up the matter entirely."

Up to that time no provision had been made for aged ministers, or the widows and children of those dying in the work. At this Conference the Worn Out Preachers' Fund was established.

On the discussion that took place Mr. Pawson says—"Being young and inexperienced I was utterly amazed at hearing this. For I thought that every Christian minister had an entire confidence in God, respecting temporal as well as spiritual things, so as to be perfectly free from all care as to what might befall either himself or family. However, although Mr. Wesley did not greatly approve of what was proposed, as he always thought it worldly, and not Christian prudence, to provide for a rainy day, yet he consented to it, and the fund was begun.

"As our Conference in those days only lasted from Sunday morning till Friday noon, my stay in London was very short ; it being thought very wrong for the preachers to stay in town at all after the Conference was concluded." This shows how thoroughly absorbed in their work were the Wesleys, and their early preachers. I have not found in the lives of these pioneers any references to the sights of London, and in Wesley's Journal few accounts of visits to remarkable places.

The only thing, outside Methodism, which Pawson mentions, is a visit to a Jewish synagogue. Taking horse, probably in company with his colleagues, he travelled to his second appointment, the Haworth round. Mr. Pawson speaks thus of the state of religion in the round.

"Upon coming into the circuit we found all the people mourning the loss of that eminently faithful servant of God, the Rev. W. Grimshaw, who had died in April that year. Many, very many had, I am inclined to think, put that excellent man in God's place, and seriously thought that the prosperity of the work entirely depended upon him. Hence they thought, 'Now he is gone, all is over with us ; we shall surely come to nothing.' God

we know is a jealous God, and will not have us ascribe that to any creature which we ought to ascribe to Him alone. As the people, I am satisfied, did this, the Lord called His faithful servant away ; and it was very remarkable, the work prospered wonderfully, and I believe there was much more good done in the circuit in that one year than had been done in seven years before that time. In Keighley also, and the neighbourhood, there was a glorious revival of the work of God, such as no one then living could remember to have seen.

"We had an extraordinary lovefeast at Keighley at the end of this year. The people sung more like angels than men and women, and we certainly were blessed with a high degree of heavenly felicity while assembled together."

This revival does not appear to have affected Haworth so much as Keighley, Morton Banks, and Bingley. Unfortunately we have no return of members previous to the revival, but from the manner in which the names are written in the register, June, 1764, it is evident that numerous additions had been made the previous quarter, or half-year, in the Keighley society especially ; while at Haworth the number of members is only 15. The Keighley preachers at once took into their hands the shepherding of the people of Haworth. Pawson says : "I was present at the next tide, or feast, after the death of Mr. Grimshaw. We occupied the chapel which he built us. Mr. Jaco and Mr. Paul Greenwood preached. Mr. Thomas Colbeck gave an exhortation and prayed, and I concluded the service, and by thus following the example of Mr. Grimshaw we kept the worship of God nearly the whole afternoon." Pawson says of a second year appointment, "Good old James Greenwood was then the steward of the circuit. He earnestly entreated me to stay with them another year. This appeared to me so strange a thing that I could not consent to it on any consideration, and when the year was expired I attended the Conference in Bristol in August, 1764. Having been very much united to Mr. Bumstead the preceding year, he, being appointed to Norwich, requested Mr. Wesley to let me go along with him, which was granted."

The ministry of Mr. Pawson was long and peculiarly useful. He was held in honour both by the people and his itinerant brethren, and in the closing days of his life was enabled to bear glorious testimony to the power and love of his Redeemer.

Mr. Pawson's public ministry concluded with a sermon preached in Wakefield on February 3rd, 1806. On the 23rd he wrote a farewell letter to Mr. Joseph Entwisle :—"The pain and sickness I have been called to pass through I cannot describe. Human language falls far too short. But the sweet peace, the

heavenly tranquillity, the holy, delightful, and heavenly joy which my precious Saviour communicated to my soul, very far exceeds all description. This day fortnight, O with what rapture, with what supreme delight, did I view my heavenly inheritance ! My soul mounted up to the throne of God, my altogether lovely Saviour, the Kingdom of immortal glory. No ; glory to God in the highest ! No clouds, no doubts, no fears. No ; all was quietness and assurance for ever."

Two days afterwards, in conversation with a friend on the necessity of doing all things to the glory of God, he declared that he had never purchased a single article since his conversion, but with an eye to eternity, and said, " I have nothing to do : all is ready." In this frame of clear assurance and rapture, Mr. Pawson continued to the last moment, which came on Wednesday, March 19th, 1806.

Another unpublished letter of John Nelson to Charles Wesley belongs to this year.

" Birstall, Nov. 11th, 1763.

Dear Sir,

This is with my duty to you and my earnest prayer for you and yours and all the church of God. Glory be to God His arm is bared in these parts ; multitudes flock to hear the word, and above a hundred joined since we came, and great part of them profess faith, and I think those that are dead, did die as great witnesses for God as ever I saw. An ancient woman that lived at Leefair—she had known the Lord about six years. I was with her a few hours before she died ; she said she had many trials in that time, but she did not know that there had been one day that she had not felt the loving presence of the Lord, and she said, ' I am going to praise Him for ever.' She was near eighty years old and died praising the Lord. I suppose you have heard of the death of Bro. Watson, of Leeds, the preacher ; I wish all may follow him as he followed the Lord. He had known the Lord about one and twenty years, and had preached seventeen, and he was never known to be a weather cock one day in all their trials they had through false brethren. He stood as a beaten anvil to the stroke, and died in full triumph of faith. Just before he died, he said, I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, &c. He was buried on the tenth of this month, and on that day he was buried sister Betty Bates, of Halifax died. She died of a consumption. I was with her some time before she died. She had known the Lord about seventeen years, and she said she had gone through all the temptations that a woman could be tempted with, but the Lord had stood by her, and had showed her a way to escape ; and she cried to Him

and He had helped her to escape them all, and she wanted a thousand tongues to praise Him. A little before she died she had violent pain for an hour together, so that the sweat dropped off her finger ends like drops of rain. When she could speak she said, 'I never felt such pain in all my life before, but glory be to God, I find His love superior to it all, and this night I shall be with Him and see Him as He is. O tell the preacher to tell the people on Sunday that I have fought the good fight and come off conqueror through Christ that hath strengthened me.' She desired all about her to abide in the old Methodist doctrine, then sweetly fell asleep in the arms of God. She was a single woman about 40 years old. She had been a great witness for the Lord, both in life and in death. On Friday, the 11th, Sister Mary Hall, of Bradford finished her course, so that in four days we had three dear friends translated into the realms of bliss. Sister Hall was young in years, and young in grace, about 22 years old, and had found pardon on Christmas Day last, and was taken badly soon after she found the Lord, and died of pining sickness. She hath had light in all her trials, and when any did visit her in her illness, they generally returned with their hearts warmed with the love of God, and praised Him in her behalf. Indeed she hath left a good savour behind her, and desired that her funeral sermon might be preached from the last verse of the 3rd Psalm 'Salvation belongeth to the Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people.' There are more dead in the round, but I was not with them, but I heard good accounts of them. O sir, pray for us, as we do for you. God hath made us of one heart and He blesses our labour together. I can bless God that I have two such partners to labour with as Bro. ——— and Parson Greenwood is. My wife joins in love to you and yours and to all friends at Bristol as well as London. I hope you will remember me in particular to Mr. Vigor and all that family, and Mr. Greavs, and Mrs. Farley, and I beg of you to talk to Charles as if he were your own son when you see him. My wife hath had a sore fit of sickness again, so that her life was despaired of for many days; but she is better through mercy. I beg of you to write to me, for I am as one that is dead, for none writes to me. This is with my best prayers from your unworthy Bro. and son to serve in the gospel,

JOHN NELSON.

If you have opportunity I pray you let your Brother see this with my duty to him."

We have no regular publication of Minutes of Conference until the year 1765. But in 1763 Wesley published a summary of minutes passed previously to that date. Some of these are of

importance as illustrating Wesley's views on practical religion, and must have exercised a great influence upon the preachers and people in this round. They are applicable to our day, if we wish to carry out the principle for which Wesley says Methodism was raised up, namely, "To reform the nation, and, in particular, the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land."

Among these minutes are the following: "The greatest hindrance to field preaching is to be expected from the rich, or cowardly, or lazy Methodists. But regard them not, neither stewards, leaders, nor people. Whenever the weather will permit, go out in God's name into the most public places, and call all to repent and believe the gospel. Every assistant, at least, in every circuit, should endeavour to preach abroad every Sunday; especially in the old societies, lest they settle upon their lees."

Wesley believed as strongly in the obligation of Government rights as of private rights; hence—"Read the sermon upon evil speaking, in every society. Extirpate smuggling, buying or selling uncustomed goods, out of every society, particularly in Cornwall and all seaport towns. Let no person remain with us who will not totally abstain from every kind and degree of it. Extirpate bribery; receiving, directly or indirectly, for voting in any election. Show no respect of persons herein, but expel all who touch the accursed thing. Let this be particularly observed at Grimsby and St. Ives."

The following is a summary of what Wesley required of the preachers:—

"The preachers were requested to offer constantly and fervently, at set times, private, family, and public prayer. They were constantly to read the Scriptures, Wesley's tracts, and the Christian Library. They were to devote their mornings to reading, writing, prayer, and meditation. They were always to have a New Testament in their pockets; and to see that Wesley's notes thereon were in every society, and were to explain them to the congregations. They were to devoutly use the Lord's Supper at every opportunity. They were advised to fast every Friday, Wesley avowing his purpose generally to eat only vegetables on Friday, and to take only toast and water in the morning. They were to meet every society weekly; also the leaders, and the bands, if any. They were diligently to inquire into the state of the books, to do all they could to propagate them. They were to keep watchnight once a month, and lovefeasts twice a year for the whole society. They were to visit every society once a quarter; to take a regular catalogue of the members at least once a year; and to write Wesley an account of the defects of 'the common preachers,' which they could not them-

selves cure. They were steadily to watch against the world, the devil, themselves, and besetting sins; and to deny themselves every useless pleasure of sense, imagination, and honour. They were recommended to use only that kind and degree of food which was best both for the body and the soul; to eat no flesh and no late suppers; and to take only three meals a day. Preachers on probation were 'not to ramble up and down, but to go where the assistant directed, and there only.'"

These were strict requirements. To what extent were they carried out? In answer to the question, "Had the office of an assistant been thoroughly executed?" he replies, "No, not by one assistant out of three.* I fear many of the quarterly meetings are formal, not spiritual. The societies are not half supplied with books; not even with *Kempis*, *Instructions for Children*, and *Primitive Physic*, which ought to be in every home. You have not provided a private room everywhere for the preacher; nor a bed to himself; neither the 'Library,' for want of which some still read trash."

Wesley believed as much as ever in the class meeting, and hence says, after a tour in Wales, in 1763, "I was more convinced than ever that the preaching like an apostle, without joining together those that are awakened, and training them up in the ways of God, is only begetting children for the murderer. How much preaching has there been for these last twenty years all over Pembrokeshire? But no regular societies, no discipline, no order or connection; and the consequence is, that nine in ten of the once awakened are now faster asleep than ever."

On this utterance Tyerman well remarks:—"These are weighty words, and well worth pondering by those, in modern days, who advocate a revision of the laws respecting Methodists meeting together in weekly class. Wesley spoke from experience; there are theorists who, in the absence of experience, will do well to hesitate before they step."†

*As the assistants in 1765 numbered 25, it was not a small thing if eight reached Wesley's high standard.

†Tyerman ii, 480.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN the year 1763, Keighley became the head of the circuit, and a great expansion took place, as the list of societies in the circuit book shows.

Mr. Pawson has told us that James Greenwood succeeded Grimshaw as circuit steward at the December quarter, 1762, and was thus in office when that notable man died. The book, however, shows that he only remained one year in office, as Mr. Thomas Colbeck takes the stewardship at the December quarter, 1765, and continued to hold it until Nov. 1779.

In this year, 1763, the following places appear for the first time in the circuit book, January 13th: Blackmires and Mixenden, 17s. 2½d.; Menoth, or Menworth Hill, and Nidderdale, £1 8s. 8d.; Lupton, nr. Kirby Lonsdale, and Kindale (Kendal?), 5s. 7d.; Blackburn and Preston (Long Preston?), £1 5s. 5d.; Wigglesworth and Skipton, 12s. 3d.; Asquith and Burley, 7s. 2d.; Barley, nr. Pendle Hill, 4s. 3d.; Guiseley and Cowen (Cowling?) Head, 14s. 6d. April 14th, 1763: Coat Gap and Balden, 15s. 6d.; Cockshott House, Fylde, and Padiham, £1 0s. 0d.; W. Taylor's and Bacup, 17s. 3d.; Mill End and Dunockshaw, 19s. 1d.; Burshall and Gawkscholme, £1 4s. 5d.; Newhurst and Gisburn, 3s. 0d. July 7th, Shefinside, 4s. 4d.; Boursal (Bewersal?) and Facit, £1 12s. 7d. October 13th, Skythorn, 6s. 0d.; Holden House, 3s. 0d.

The earliest list of leaders for the Keighley circuit we can compile is for the years 1764 and 1766. Thomas Colbeck, Keighley, two classes; John Wilkinson, Keighley, two classes in 1766; Samuel Whitaker; Edward Sunderland, Keighley; John Dawson; John Laycock, leader at Ingrow, or Bracken Bank, two classes (one of them in the town); John Cowling; John Binns, Hainworth Shay; Joseph Emmott, Morton Banks; John Taylor, Morton.

Of the three first on the list I have given such particulars as could be obtained. Edward Sunderland, the fourth, was born at Denholme, and apprenticed in the parish of Northowram, near Halifax, to the business of a sorter or woolcomber. He afterwards came to reside at Keighley, and was employed by Mr. Greenwood. He was married and living at Keighley when the Methodists began to preach there. His wife, Sarah, went to hear

them, and the Lord opened her heart to attend to the things spoken by His servants, and she immediately decided to give herself to the Lord, and become a member of the infant society.

Sarah Sunderland often told her husband, on returning from preaching, of the wonders of grace she had witnessed, how such an one had fallen down in distress and begun to cry to the Lord for mercy; when he would coldly reply to her by saying, "It was only a woman."

However, at length she succeeded in persuading him to accompany her, and he then soon had proof in his own experience, that the gospel is the power of God to humble men as well as women, for he began to enquire in earnest what he must do to be saved.

Having obtained salvation through Christ, he gave himself to God and His Church; and in thus serving God continued to the end of a long life. His wife died in the Lord some time before him, and he then went to reside with his grandson at Damside, Keighley, where he died in the full triumph of faith, aged 91.

Edward Sunderland is frequently mentioned in the circuit book as providing preachers with food, shaving them, and attending to their horses.

From a society book containing the first extant list of members in the round, written by Mr. W. Fugill in 1763, we find that Whitehaven, with 114 members, is grouped with the following places: Cockermouth, 19 members; Workington, 11; Lorton, 6; Branthwaite, 11; Coldbeck, 9; Brackenhill, 10; and Wigton, 8.

On June 22nd, 1764, Wesley entered the round at Whitehaven, and says respecting that place: "What has continually hurt this poor people is offence. I found the society now all in confusion because a woman had scolded with her neighbour, and another stole a twopenny loaf. I talked largely with those who had been most offended; and they stood reprov'd. Sunday, 24th, about seven, I preached at the Gins, and the people flocked to hear me from all quarters. The want of field-preaching has been one cause of deadness here. I do not find any great increase of the work of God without it. If ever this is laid aside, I expect the whole work will gradually die away." Wesley meant the work of aggression on the outside world. The organisation might last by support of adherents, and through family and other interests, but the world, let alone, would go its way, and Methodism would be merely the dead frame of a former Divine body instinct with power.

Proceeding onward in the round, Wesley says, Monday, 25th,

"I rode by Keswick to Kendal. The clouds shaded us most of the way, and the wind was just in our face; otherwise we should scarce have been able to bear the heat. A few years ago the fields here were white for the harvest; but the poor people have since been so harassed by seceders, and disputers of every kind, that they are dry and dead as stones; yet I think some of them felt the power of God this evening; and can He not, "out of these stones, raise up children into Abraham"? Tues. 26th, "I preached abroad at five, and I believe, not in vain. Between nine and ten we reached Black Burton, where there was a general awakening till the jars between Mr. Ingham and Allan laid the people asleep again. However, some are united again in a quiet, loving society, zealous of good works. I preached about eleven. Thence we rode to Long Preston, being still fanned by the wind, and—unless a few minutes now and then,—shaded by the clouds. The congregation was exceeding serious. Hence I rode to Skipton, where some time since, no Methodist preacher could appear. I preached in the evening near the bridge without the least interruption. Nor did I find any weariness, after preaching four times and riding fifty miles." This indicates the peculiar vigour of Wesley who was then 61 years of age.

There are statements in the Magazines of 1822 and 1826, as to the introduction of Methodism into Skipton, which need correction. The first is in an obituary of Francis Watson, who died May 18th, 1822, aged 72. It is said of him that he was the honoured instrument of introducing Methodism into Skipton where it has ever since flourished.

We are told that at the age of twenty-two, which would be the year 1772, he was deeply convinced of sin, and obtained pardon and peace about a fortnight afterwards.

The circuit book shows that in the year 1763 Skipton and Wigglesworth contributed for the first time 1s. 3d. to the funds, and in the same year twelve members are named as meeting in class at Skipton under the leadership of Peter Garforth.

Mr. Peter Garforth was a class-leader and local preacher at Skipton. He was a member of the Wesleyan society and probably the only leader in 1763. The society afterwards declined. From 1782 to 1802 Mr. Garforth subscribed 10s. 6d. per quarter to the funds of the Keighley circuit board.

When the society revived again his subscription was added to the society's quarterage of 3s. or 4s.

The first preaching room in Skipton was over the Devonshire Arms Inn, a chamber rented from the landlord.

Thus nine years previous to the spiritual awakening of Francis Watson, Methodism had members in Skipton and

Wigglesworth. This holy man, as was frequently the case in those early days of Methodism, had the honour not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for His sake. He endured not only scorn and reproach, but bodily harm; and in some cases even his life was endangered. This would probably be in places outside Skipton, as our quotation from Wesley's Journal of June 26th, 1764, not only confirms the earlier date of introduction of Methodism into that town, but also shows that violent persecution had ceased there. As a local preacher, Francis Watson laboured usefully for nearly half a century, during which time we are told he never neglected an appointment given him. He was a man of strong faith in God; of great love to souls, and especially a man of much prayer. Regularly did he pray three times a day in his closet, and twice in his family; and sometimes he rose at midnight to pray and give thanks. To a friend who asked him, a little before he died, if his prospects of another world were still bright, he replied with peculiar emphasis, thrice over "Glory is before me!" After a short pause, collecting all his strength, he said, "Glory! glory! glory! Help me to praise God:" and added, "Happy! happy!" and then his voice failed him.

In an obituary of Miss Jane Baynes, who died at Skipton, October 2nd, 1826, we are told that she came with her mother to reside in that town in the year 1786, and also that about that time the Methodist preachers were invited to this place by a member of the society who had providentially been led to take up his abode there. If this refers to the holding of regular services it may possibly be correct. It is said that the preachers accepted the invitation, and that Miss Baynes became a regular hearer, and in 1787 joined the society, of which she continued a consistent member for thirty-six years. At that period Methodism was low in the esteem of many in Skipton; the society was very small; they had no chapel, only an inconvenient and disagreeable room, for public worship; and the disapprobation of her friends and relatives made her cross very heavy.

That the inhabitants of her native place, and her tenants at Eastby, might be privileged with those means of grace she so highly valued, Miss Baynes built a good chapel, with a cottage adjoining it, nearly at her own expense, which she secured to the Methodist Connexion. The cottage was to be occupied by an old servant of hers, a local preacher, and after his death the rent to be appropriated to the support of the gospel in the Skipton circuit, with the proviso that whoever lived in it should entertain the preachers whenever they visited Eastby.

Returning from our digression respecting the introduction

of Methodism into Skipton, we find that Wesley was at Otley on July 27th, 1764. He says—"In the evening we had a large congregation at the foot of the great mountain (probably the Chevin). After preaching in the morning, I examined those who believe they are saved from sin. They are a little increased in numbers since I met them last; and some of them much increased in love. This evening I preached at Guiseley; the next at Keighley; and on Saturday, 30th, at Bradford."

At the Conference of 1764, the appointments to the round were—W. Fugill, Martin Rodda, Mosely Cheek, John Murray, and John Morgan. Of Martin Rodda we can learn nothing beyond the statement that he entered the itinerants ranks in 1763, and retired from the work in 1781. He receives the quarterly allowance of £3 on January 7th, 1765, but not on the next quarter day, April 8th. On July 15th, however, he again receives £3. It may be that he was working in some distant part of the round, in Lancashire, or the neighbourhood of Whitehaven, for there are significant disbursements immediately below his name.

Mosely Cheek, the third preacher, appears to have commenced his career as a preacher in 1764, and ended it five years afterwards by becoming a clergyman of the Established Church.

John Murray is another preacher about whom we can learn nothing, save that he began to travel in 1760, and left the work in 1774. He receives nothing at the January quarter day, 1765, so must have been paid elsewhere. The circuit provides him with a horse at a cost of £6.

In the payments of January 7th, 1765, we have Br. Morgan, £8; April 8, Br. Morgan, £5 8s.; July 15, Br. Morgan £5 10s.

These are so different in amount from the usual stipend, and his advent so peculiar in time, as to need explanation.

Travelling expenses, £2 1s. 9d.; to Mr. Rodda, towards paying for a house, £1 3s.; to take the preachers into the rounds, £6 6s.

Why is the plural used with respect to the last item? The probability is that instead of one round the Haworth appointment covered at least four roughly defined circuits, viz., Haworth, comprising places west thereof in Yorkshire and Lancashire; Colne, with towns and villages in North Lancashire; the south round, comprising Wharfedale, Nidderdale, and Upper Airedale; and Whitehaven, including Workington, Cockermouth, Kendal, &c. There is an entry, January 17, 1764—"More cash from Whitehaven, &c., £3 6s." Whatever was raised in some of the distant places seems to have been spent there as a rule, and Mr. Rodda may have received his allowances thus.

The large family of John Morgan may perhaps account for the extra payments made to him.

In part, the following is Wesley's testimony respecting him : " He was a plain, rough, honest, pious man. He was engaged in the work as an itinerant preacher for many years, and was possessed of great and singular talents. He had a large family and various trials. It pleased God to exercise him with a long and painful illness, which he bore with patience and resignation to the Divine will ; and in the end he joyfully committed his soul, his wife, and his eight little children to God, as to a faithful Creator." He died sometime in the year 1782.

The income of the round in 1764, was £123 13s. 7d. The four preachers, Messrs. Fugill, Rodda, Cheek and Murray, received £12 each per annum. Mr. Fugill had a family and therefore has an allowance of £6 8s. extra per annum.

A few additional entries will show how the circuit income was disbursed.

	£	s.	d.
Bro. Fugill's travelling expenses	0	8	0
" Greenwood's " " " " " " " " " " " "	0	7	0
" Bumstead's " " " " " " " " " " " "	0	5	0
" Fugill for shaving, &c., " " " " " " " " " " " "	0	3	7½
Dinners " " " " " " " " " " " "	0	10	0
Bro. Guildford for expenses at Whitehaven and } removed from thence to Keighley.	1	2	10

In the year 1765, Wesley was two days in a remote corner of the round. Under date Thursday, April 11th, he says, " We rode on (from Garstang) to Francis Gilbert's, at Kendal, where there is now a real work of God. The genuine Gospel now takes root, and sinners are converted to God."

Miss Mary Gilbert, writing under the same date, says : " At noon we had the pleasure of the Rev. Mr. Ino. Wesley's company to dinner ; and in the evening he preached on Jer. viii.-22—'Is there no balm in Gilead, &c.' His conversation was very edifying, and God blessed it to my poor soul." Of the next day she records :—" At five in the morning Mr. Wesley preached on Psalm lxxxiv.-1—" How amiable are thy tabernacles, &c."

On another occasion in this year Wesley touched at Whitehaven on his return from a visit to Ireland. On Friday, April 2nd, he says, " About ten we went on board the Felicity, bound for Whitehaven. In about an hour we set sail. Soon after the wind turned, and was against us most part of Saturday and Sunday. On Sunday, I preached to our little congregation, thirteen in all, on ' The Kingdom of heaven is at hand ; repent ye, and believe the Gospel.' In a short time, the wind sprung up fair, but with intervals of calm ; so that we did not reach Whitehaven quay till Tuesday 6th, between twelve and one in the morning. After sleeping two or three hours, I hastened away, and in the afternoon came to Carlisle."

CHAPTER XXII.

AT the Conference of 1765 the preachers appointed to the Haworth round were—Isaac Brown, John Atlay, Nicholas Manners, James Stephens, and Robert Costerdine.

Robert Costerdine, however, for some cause unexplained, did not then come to the circuit, but from the *Magazine* of 1814, we learn that he took the place of John Poole, appointed to Grimsby, and Poole came to Keighley. The circuit book confirms this. As Messrs. Atlay and Stephens are only mentioned once in the accounts, it is probable that the Northern part of the round was worked by them, and found them maintenance.

James Stephens was admitted into full connexion this year, and Myles says that he was expelled in 1772, but no mention of the fact is made in the Minutes, his name being dropped after 1770.

John Atlay, the second in the Haworth round, became conspicuous among his brethren a few years later. He had been two years in the ministry when he came to Keighley. He is mentioned in Wesley's Journal, June 25th, 1766. "We rode on to Whitehaven. Here I spent the rest of the week. Sunday, 29th, I appointed the children to meet me; and desired Mr. Atlay to meet them for the time to come." This is incidental proof that Whitehaven was then in the Haworth round. He was still at Whitehaven the year following, though not mentioned in the circuit book at all during that year. In April, 1767, Wesley was at Cockermouth, and writing on the 25th, says,—“The mare T. Dancer rode being now quite lame, I left him to cross over at Whitehaven, and Mr. Atlay, who came just in time, offered to accompany me to Portpatrick. Thursday, 26th. We rode through miserable roads to Solway Firth; but the guides were so deeply engaged in a cock-fight, that none could be procured to show us over. We procured one, however, between three and four. But there was more sea than we expected, so that notwithstanding all I could do, my legs and the skirts of my coat were in the water. The motion of the waves made me a little giddy; but it had a strange effect on Mr. Atlay. He lost his sight, and was just dropping off his horse, when one of our fellow-travellers caught hold of him. We rode on nine or ten miles, and lodged at a village called Ruthwell.”*

*Journal iii.-275.

Twelve years later, 1777, Mr. Atlay became Wesley's first book steward, an office which he held until 1788. In 1785 he appears to have been offended because his name was not in the Deed of Declaration constituting the Legal Conference, and when, in 1788, the trustees of the Methodist chapel in Dewsbury unjustly alienated it from Methodism, Mr. Atlay accepted an invitation to become their minister. He showed worldly wisdom in the bargain he made. "He insisted upon having an income of sixty pounds per annum, with the chapel house to live in, settled upon him during his life, before he would relinquish his place under Wesley." The trustees lived to "repent deeply of their conduct in this instance." In vain they represented to the man of their unhappy choice how lamentably their congregation had declined, and how hardly they could sustain the expenses they had incurred. The answer was short; they might employ other preachers if they should think it proper; but the dwelling-house and the stated income belonged to him!"*

Thus early was illustrated the superiority of connexionalism to unrestrained local authority in dealing with houses of worship, and the wise balance of power established by Wesley between trustees and the Methodist ministry. "Of the Dewsbury society only two members—a good man and his wife, of the name of Drake—adhered to Wesley. Many were scattered, some of whom went into the world and never returned, and the rest continued for a time under Mr. Atlay, who, with the assistance of Mr Eels and others, formed societies at Newcastle, Shields, and other places. These societies, however dwindled away and came to nothing."†

The last we know of Atlay is that in 1790 he was circulating most infamous reports reflecting on Wesley's moral character; which that good man met in the following dignified and Christian manner—"If John Atlay has a mind to throw any more dirt upon me, I do not know I shall take any pains to wipe it off. I have but a few days to live, and I wish to spend those in peace."

Nicholas Manners was born in 1732 at Sledmere, on the Yorkshire Wolds. He tells us that his parents, despite their living in a place where priest and people were far from what they should have been, were careful concerning their children's tuition and religion.

When he was nineteen years of age, after passing through a period of conviction by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, altogether apart from human instrumentality, Mr. Manners first

*Moore's *Life of Wesley*, ii.-296.

†Rev. Joseph Entwisle.

heard the Methodists. Under their preaching light shone into his soul, deepening his knowledge of his desperate state of sinfulness. In this he continued for a period of fourteen months. He says—"Notwithstanding the littleness of my hopes, and the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties that were before me, I still walked on in the fear of God, carefully watching every motion of my mind, nor suffering an idle, nor if possible a worldly thought to continue in it, and added earnest prayers, both early and late, and filled up every vacancy with religious exercises."

If a man could have been saved by reformation of life and earnest effort, surely this man would. But the only result was that—"Having no hope of deliverance, total despair and exquisite distress took place, and all seemed to be lost for ever, and I lived in a continual looking for of death and damnation." Great as was the distress, so great and instantaneous was the deliverance. "Lo! in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the light of heaven so shone on my heart that I seemed to be in a spiritual world, a world of glory; and on what resembled, as I thought, a white cloud, with the eye of my understanding I saw written in capitals, BELIEVE, which I immediately did, and guilt and fear were entirely taken away."

In the year 1759 Manners was called to the itinerant ministry, and, in the irregular fashion of the time, stationed in London four months. He says of that period, "When I began to preach in the country, I could have spoken before anybody; but, alas! in London a sense of my weakness increased so much that I could hardly preach at all. However, it induced me to diligence in reading, to improve my understanding and increase my knowledge. For I perceived that though a person properly called to preach, is helped by the Lord; yea, and sometimes far above his ability, yet, generally, He only helps according to it, by bringing such things to our remembrance as we know, and by giving energy to them. Hence it necessarily follows, that although without the Lord's call to, and help in preaching, it will be unprofitable; yet still, he that will not study men, books, and things, will be a dunce all his days. On the other hand, if studies destroy the life of religion, knowledge costs too great a price; for this also is certain, that abstracted from extraordinary help, the more lively any man is by the inward principle of grace, the more powerful is his preaching."

After giving experiences in various circuits, Mr. Manners says:—"In 1765 I travelled in the Haworth circuit. This is a rough, hard part of the country, the reverse of Lincolnshire (his previous circuit). But it produced many hearers, and we did

not labour in vain. And yet I preached with greater difficulty, in respect of my mind, than I had done for several years. The beginning of it indeed was in Lincolnshire; for the last time I preached there I was uncommonly straitened. And it continued, in the general, all the next year. The reason of which I never could certainly discover. However, let what would be the cause, it rendered preaching so extremely disagreeable that I was often tempted to give it up. And one time in particular I was so cast down in soul that I was concluding, let what would be the consequences, to go home, when these words shot into my mind, 'And hast not fainted.' I remembered the person to whom they were first spoken; and, being none of the best, I saw I was sinking lower than one who had left his first love. The conviction consequent on it, made me instantly alter my resolution, so that instead of going home I was determined to go on, let me suffer what I would."

This peculiar experience as to preaching, indicative of morbid self-consciousness, was followed by yielding to self-indulgence, for which he makes slight excuse, evidently accompanied by condemnation of conscience. "In this year I broke a habit which I had been contracting seven years. From my beginning to travel, I had generally preached at five in the morning. And if I did not preach then I was sure to awake. But this being a part where the people could not attend, I lost the habit of waking, and the ease of rising at that time, and therefore, though I have often preached in the morning since, yet not with the same agreeableness. Such is the disadvantage of doing things without custom."

John Poole had been six years in the itinerant ministry when he came to the Haworth round. He travelled thirty years with an unblemished character. A reserved manner somewhat hindered his usefulness, meekness and patience however were valuable counterbalancing features. During twelve years of superannuation he resided at Redruth in Cornwall, labouring as strength would permit until the time of his death. In his last sickness he evinced unshaken confidence in God, and a lively hope of eternal blessedness.

William Barker was sent to the Haworth round before being admitted on trial, which took place at the Conference of 1766, when he was appointed to Cornwall West circuit. Despite this circumstance, he received the same allowance as the other preachers on the round. We have no record concerning him, save that after twelve years he left the itinerancy for want of health to continue the work.

The omission of the name of Mr. Barker in the appointment

for Keighley, and the unrecorded change in the cases of Messrs. Costerdine and Poole, show that the Minutes of Conference cannot be absolutely relied upon as to preachers travelling in any particular circuit. The old books of the round reveal other instances.

The circuit appointment in 1766 was Isaac Brown, John Shaw, and Robert Costerdine.

According to the circuit book John Shaw resided at Bewersall with one John Clegg, to whom 15s. od. was paid on October 13th, for three weeks' board.

He appears also to have lodged at Long Preston, for on April 2nd, 25s. od. is paid on his account.

John Shaw was converted to God at an early period of his life, and in the year 1763 became an itinerant preacher. He was for many years a remarkably corpulent man, which sometimes made travelling a great burden to him, yet he continued in the work to the close of his life. For thirty years he maintained an unexceptionable character, and was greatly beloved, and very useful in all the circuits in which he laboured. He was a sensible, upright, pious man, whose heart was thoroughly in the work of God. His last circuit was Pocklington, where he concluded his life and labours in 1793. The Lord was with him in his last moments, and he died with unshaken confidence in his God.

Robert Costerdine was born in the parish of Flixton, near Manchester, in 1726. He was awakened under a sermon preached by John Nelson. Soon after, he heard Whitefield, and for several weeks was in great distress, but he says: "In November, 1748, the Lord visited me in a manner which I shall never forget, with a sudden transition from death unto life, from sorrow to joy; my sins were pardoned, and my person accepted through Him Who died for sinners. Some time after, he believed he was moved by the Holy Ghost to call sinners to repentance, and acted for some years as a local preacher. During this part of Mr. Costerdine's life a very important institution of Methodism sprung into existence in Lancashire, viz, prayer meetings. One of the most eminent of the early local preachers raised up by Methodism was a chief instrument in their establishment.

Mr. Matthew Mayer, of Portwood Hall, near Stockport, having been converted, came into the neighbourhood of Ashton, calling sinners to repentance. His first efforts were made in conjunction with John Morris, a young man from Manchester, by establishing weekly prayer meetings at Davy-Hulme, Dukinfield, Ashton, and other places. As numbers of persons attended these meetings who were utterly ignorant of the things of God, these

young men exhorted them "to flee from the wrath to come." The effects were surprising; upwards of sixty persons were awakened and added to the society at Davy-Hulme, in a few weeks after the establishment of these meetings in that village.

This was the commencement of public prayer meetings, as a social means of grace, amongst the Methodists in the North.

On Sunday evening, while the prayer meeting was in progress at James Wood's, "the heavens were opened, and great grace rested upon the people." Many were in distress; and Morris and Mayer, who conducted the meeting, were completely exhausted by their exertions. Just at this moment, Robt. Costerdine, came into the room. Robert was a sensible man, but not very friendly to these meetings, which he looked upon as novelties in Methodism, and not much calculated to promote the calm and steady growth of experimental religion. With some reluctance he engaged in prayer; and he began in his usual slow and deliberate manner. This was ill suited to the burning zeal and fervent piety of young Morris; who, kneeling beside him, whispered in his ear, "Brother if you would fill this house with God, you must be more earnest." Costerdine elevated his voice, and quickened his utterance, and pleaded in prayer until himself and the people were filled with the Holy Ghost.*

In the year 1764, Mr. Costerdine entered the ministry, being appointed to the Epworth circuit, and in 1765 to Grimsby. His licence to preach is a singular document and manifests considerable adroitness on the part of his legal adviser. Unwilling to avow himself a Dissenter, he was precluded from the benefit of the Act of Toleration, passed in the reign of William and Mary: hence the circuitous routine here substituted.

His license contains the following curious declaration:— "Lincolnshire (Lindsey).—These are to certify, that at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, holden at Caistor for the parts of Lindsey in the County of Lincoln on Wednesday, Jan. 16th, 1765, Robert Costerdine, of Grimsby, in the said parts and County, yeoman, did in open court, take, repeat, and subscribe the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, appointed to be taken, repeated, and subscribed, in and by an Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, 'an Act for the further security of His Majesty's person and Government, and the succession of the Crown, in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing the hopes of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and his open and secret abettors;' and that the said Robert Costerdine, did then and there, in open Court, make and

*Life of Revd. G. Lowe, 38 and 40.

subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation, mentioned in an Act of Parliament, made in the 25th year of the reign of His late Majesty King Charles the Second, intituled, 'An Act for preventing Dangers from Popish Recusants : ' and that the said Robert Costerdine did also then and there, in open Court, declare his approbation of, and subscribe the Articles of religion, mentioned in the statute, made in the 13th year of the reign of Her late Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, except those words in the Twentieth Article,—' The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith ; ' and also, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th Articles.

Dated the said 16th day of Jan., 1765.

ROBERT CHAPMAN.

Deputy Clerk of the Peace."

From the terms of this licence we gather that Mr. Costerdine was one of those preachers who held Mr. Wesley's views of the position of Methodists in regard to the Church, expressed in the Minutes of Conference for 1766.

Mr. Costerdine says, "At the Leeds Conference, 1766, I was appointed to Keighley, in Yorkshire, with brother Brown, who had the care of the circuit the first year, and I the second. It extended from Otley to Whitehaven, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. It is now divided into ten or eleven circuits." This was written in 1810, when Mr. Costerdine was in his 84th year. He goes on to say, "I was four years in this circuit at two different times. We had long rides, through a very mountainous country, and were exposed to several other inconveniences ; but the Lord was with me, and preserved me amidst seen and unseen dangers. During the four years which I laboured in the circuit the Lord deigned to make me useful, both to the souls and bodies of the people."*

Costerdine was evidently engaged in the north-western portion of the Haworth round, for we have in his autobiographical sketch, in the *Magazine* of 1866, a story of the way in which he dealt with a case of religious depression at Olerton, near Preston. He must have been regarded by Wesley as peculiarly useful in this sphere of labour, from the fact that he was appointed to the circuit two years in succession.

In the year 1767 the debt on Connexional property was £11,338, which Wesley was most anxious to remove. He issued a circular and sent it to the various circuits through his assistants. In an accompanying note, addressed to Mr. Costerdine, he refers to leading Methodists in the Haworth round at that time.

*Methodist, Magazine, 1814, p. 76.

"London, November 24th, 1767.

My Dear Brother,

I have wrote to T. Colbeck, James Greenwood, John Greenwood, Sutcliffe, Southwell, Garforth, and Littledale. The rest in your circuit I leave to you. Leave no stone unturned. When you receive the printed letters, seal, subscribe, and deliver them in my name to whom you please. Be active. Adieu !"

We have evidence that he was employed about Whitehaven from a letter written to him by Mr. Wesley.

"Canterbury, November 24th, 1767.

My dear Brother,

I am glad you spent a little time at Whitehaven ; the poor people there need every help. There, and in every other large town, both you and your fellow-labourers should take care of those two principal points: (1) To instruct the children; and (2) To visit the parents from house to house according to the plan laid down at the last year's Conference. Then you will see the fruit of your labour, and the work of the Lord will prosper in your hands. Wherever you are you should encourage the people to *read* as well as *pray*, and to that purpose it is well to carry little books with you. Peace be with your spirit !

I am your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.*

In another characteristic letter of Mr. Wesley to Mr. Costerdine, he says :

"London, October 25th, 1771.

My dear Brother,

Do what you can and you do enough. No debt is properly included but that which was contracted three years ago. However, in such cases as that of Birmingham, we may make an exception. You are in the right to stop all who would tell you stories of past things. Tell them, 'Now is the day of salvation,' and strongly exhort them to embrace it. Recommend the books wherever you go. Meet the children, and visit from house to house.

I am, dear Robert,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.†

If the early preachers did as Wesley so constantly exhorted them, no wonder that they gained the hold they had upon the

* Methodist Magazine, 1845, p. 577.

† Methodist Magazine, 1845, p. 579.

people. They would be felt by parents and children to be pastors indeed, and win heart-felt gratitude and affection everywhere.

Costerdine travelled twenty-nine years with an unblemished character. He was a man of a meek and quiet spirit, a useful preacher, and a peaceful fellow-labourer. He found the great truth which he had preached to be the support of his happy soul in his last conflict, and entered into the joy of his Lord in 1812 in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

The first place in the round which Wesley visited in 1766 was Whitehaven. He says: "Wednesday, June 25th, we rode on to Whitehaven. Here I spent the rest of the week. Sunday, 29th, I appointed the children to meet me; and desired Mr. Atlay to meet them for the time to come. At one, Robert Williams preached in the Market Place, to some thousands of people, all quiet and attentive. About 5, I preached near the town to a willing multitude, many of whom seemed to be cut to the heart." Approaching the circuit again in July, from the direction of York, we find Wesley at Pateley Bridge, on July 24th. Here from 1750 to 1752, Thomas Lee and the first Methodists were several times subjected to the grossest violence. Now the reception of Wesley presents a totally different picture. He says: "I preached at Pateley Bridge. Such a congregation, both for numbers and seriousness, I have not seen since we left Newcastle. As it rained, I desired the men to put on their hats; but in two or three minutes they pulled them off again, and seemed to mind nothing but how they might 'know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Friday, 25th, we rode to Skipton-in-Craven. I desired to preach in the Market Place, but the rain prevented. So I stood near Mr. Garforth's house, where many were under shelter; but many remained without, seeming not to think whether it rained or not. Will all these be barren and unfruitful?

"Saturday, 26th, I preached at Addingham about nine, and at Guiseley in the evening."

The next place in the circuit visited on this occasion was Baildon, concerning which Wesley says: "Sunday, 27th, as Baildon church would not near contain the congregation, after the prayers were ended I came out into the churchyard, both morning and afternoon. The wind was extremely high, and blew in my face all the time, yet I believe all the people could hear."

In 1766 a number of societies in the neighbourhood of Halifax were taken from the circuit, and added to the Halifax portion of the Birstall circuit.

After preaching at Bradford, Wesley came again into the circuit on the 29th, at Colne. There he preached, and records a case of ghostly visitation such as recur here and there throughout his Journals. "In the evening," he says, "I preached at Padiham, and strongly insisted on communion with God, as the only religion that would avail us. Wednesday, 30th, I rode to Rossendale, which, notwithstanding its name, is little else than a chain of mountains. The rain in the evening obliged me to preach in the new house, near a village called New Church. As many as could crowded in, and many more stood at the door; but many were constrained to go away. Thursday, 31st, I preached at Bacup, and then rode on to Heptonstall. The tall mountain on which it stands, is quite steep and abrupt, only where the roads are made; and the deep valleys that surround it, as well as the sides of the mountain beyond, are all well clothed with grass, corn, and trees. I preached with great enlargement of heart on, 'Now is the day of salvation.' The renegade Methodists, first turning Calvinists, then Anabaptists, made much confusion here for a season; but as they now have taken themselves away, the poor people are in peace again.

"Friday, August 1st, I rode to Ewood. The last time I was here, young Mr. Grimshaw received me in the same hearty manner as his father used to do; but he too is now gone into eternity! So in a few years the family is extinct! I preached at one in a meadow near the House to a numerous congregation; and we sang with one heart:

Let sickness blast and death devour,
If heaven will recompense our pains;
Perish the grass and fade the flower,
Since firm the word of God remains."

CHAPTER XXIII.

GRIMSHAW was succeeded in the living of Haworth by the Rev. John Richardson, a native of Crosby in Westmoreland, a man of polished manners, unaffected piety, and of a mild and amiable disposition. He died at Haworth a few weeks after Wesley died in London. Three years elapsed after the death of Grimshaw before we find Wesley preaching again in the churchyard of Haworth. He writes, August 3rd, 1766: "When the prayers at Haworth were ended, I preached from a little scaffold on the south side of the church. The communicants alone (a sight which has not been seen since Mr. Grimshaw's death) filled the church. In the afternoon, the congregation was supposed to be the largest which has ever been there; but strength was given me in proportion, so that I believe all could hear."

Whilst showers of blessing fell on people from afar who flocked to the ministry of Grimshaw, some of his own parishoners, both during his lifetime and after his death, answered to the graphic description given of them in Darney's rhymes:—

" But while the strangers do receive
The blessing from above,
There's many near the church that starve,
For want of Jesu's love."

Mr. Wesley felt deeply the spiritually dead condition of the people of Haworth, as the text from which he preached on the 3rd of August, 1866, shows: "If thou hadst known the things that belong unto thy peace!"

The numbers in society indicate it, for the society dwindled down to eight members.

Monday, August 4th, Wesley says: "I preached at Bingley, but with a heavy heart, finding so many of the Methodists here, as well as at Haworth, perverted by the Anabaptists. I see clearer and clearer, none will keep to us unless they keep to the Church. Whoever separate from the Church will separate from the Methodists."

Local tradition states that sometime between the years 1760 and 1764 a considerable number of persons left the Methodist society and founded the Baptist church in that town. Amongst the seceders was Mr. John Skirrow, a zealous and

useful local preacher. He died in 1785 in the 75th year of his age, and was interred in the Baptist chapel, Bingley. In consequence of this division, pecuniary difficulties compelled the Bingley Methodists to petition Conference for assistance. In the Minutes for 1766 we find, under the question, "What places petition for help?" that amongst other towns, Bingley is named as receiving £5. Various sums were afterwards granted; in 1769, £10; in 1770, £6 6s. 2d.; in 1772, £2 10s. 0d.; and in 1775, £24. Why did the Bingley Methodists require this help? They had built no chapel and consequently had no debt to meet. Probably lodgings were required for the preachers, the members generally being too poor to entertain them during their visits, and to assist them to meet expenses these sums were given.

Under date of August 4th, Wesley says—"I went to Otley, but the town seemed to be run mad. Such noise, hurry, drunkenness, rioting, confusion, I know not when I met with before. It was their feast day! A feast of Bacchus, or Venus, or Belial? O shame to a Christian country! However, both the small and great rabble were so engaged that they had no leisure to molest us; so that I preached to a large congregation under the hill with perfect quietness."

Tyerman says—"Every one must be struck with Wesley's almost unequalled labour—labours prosecuted, not for honour,—inasmuch as for the present, at all events, they only brought him contempt and ridicule; nor for fortune, inasmuch as he took nothing from the people among whom he laboured, except, occasionally when his purse was empty, a few shillings to pay his turnpike gates or his ostler's bill. Indeed money, like all his other talents, he devoted entirely to the work of God. He sometimes had it, but he never kept it. 'Hundreds and thousands,' says Thomas Olivers, 'are for ever draining Mr. Wesley's pocket to the last shilling, as those about him are eye witnesses.'"*

The Keighley circuit book supplies many confirmations of this statement; thus we have, July 9th, 1767, this entry—"Mr. Wesley's mare, 15 nights, 7s. 6d."

In the old Todmorden Book we have entries, January 9th, 1762—"Received from Mr. Grimshaw towards the maintenance of Mr. Wesley and others, in all 6s.; May 31, 1753, Mr. Wesley's charges at James Rhodes, in General Wood, and others, 4s.; April 25th, 1755, to Jas. Rhodes for Mr. Wesley and others, 5s. 6d."

The successors of Grimshaw, the Revs. John Richardson and James Charnock, were regarded as evangelical in their principles, and as having preached the truth; but they were far behind the never-to-be-forgotten apostle of Northern Methodism.

*Tyerman ii. p. 588.

In the month of June, 1767, Lady Huntingdon went on an evangelistic tour, attended by five clergymen who preached to large congregations wherever the party stayed. One of them was the saintly Fletcher, of Madeley. Lady Huntingdon and her party stayed some time at Aberford, with the Rev. and Lady Margaret Ingham. From that town her ladyship made an excursion to Haworth, accompanied by Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Townsend. As it was understood that they would preach, an immense assemblage of people collected from all parts. Application was made for the use of Mr. Whitefield's pulpit, but the incumbent, though a good man, was averse to out-of-door preaching. Lady Huntingdon remonstrated,—the multitude could not be sent away empty, and as she was attended by two clergymen, both of whom were willing to undertake the service, the congregation was addressed in the churchyard, first by Mr. Fletcher, and afterwards by Mr. Townsend.

The preachers appointed to the circuit at the Conference of 1767 were Robert Costerdine, Joseph Guilford, John Whittam, and Thomas Cherry.

Joseph Guilford became an itinerant preacher in 1761. He had been in the army several years, and during the time he was thus employed, the Duke of Cumberland, who was then Commander-in-Chief, was desired by some enemies of religion to put a stop to the meetings of the praying soldiers. One day the Duke was passing the place where a number of the men were gathered together praying. Mr. Guilford, it is said, was at the moment pleading with God, and while the Duke was listening at the door, he was earnestly entreating God in behalf of King George and all the royal family. The Duke, who had heard him with deep attention, seemed much affected, and said to those who were with him, "I would to God that all the soldiers in the British army were like these men." In his ministry Mr. Guilford manifested the spirit of a true soldier, fearing the face of no man. As a preacher he was a Boanerges, his sermons being very alarming, and his spirit full of zeal and fervour.

His ministry proved of great service to that eminent Methodist preacher, Mr. Samuel Bradburn, who resided at Chester in 1765, when Mr. Guilford was travelling in the Derbyshire circuit, which at that time included the Palatine City. He says of him—"His words, like a mighty torrent, seemed to bear down everything that stood in the way. One evening, being exceedingly cast down, and finding an uncommon weight upon my spirits, I went to preaching, and while Mr. Guilford was describing the happiness of the righteous in glory, my heart melted like wax before the fire. In a moment all that heaviness was

removed, and the love of God was so abundantly shed abroad in my heart, that I could scarcely refrain from crying out in the preaching house."

In 1776, Mr. Guilford travelled in the Sheffield circuit. In giving tickets at Rotherham to the members of Mr. Green's class, a female of the name of Betty Rowley was present to receive her token of church membership. Mr. Guilford having been informed of the violent persecution she experienced from her husband, said, "Betty, if you had no connection with the Methodists, and were persuaded that, by uniting yourself to them, you would meet with all the opposition you have hitherto had to bear, could you, do you think, join yourself to them, and cheerfully go through the whole?" "Oh yes, sir," she exultingly replied; "if I was aware that I had ten times more to suffer, I could undergo the whole in the service of the Lord." She sat by the side of a couch, and the words were no sooner uttered than she fell back and expired. Whenever this good woman went to chapel in the evening, she was invariably locked out by her husband. Under these circumstances, she frequently returned to the chapel and slept in one of the pews all night, with the Bible for her pillow, to be ready for five o'clock preaching next morning.*

Evidence of the connection of Whitehaven with the circuit is supplied by an entry in the book on April 4th, 1759—"Mr. Guilford's expenses at Whitehaven, and removal from thence to Keighley, £1 2s. 10d." Removal bills for married men were then light indeed.

In the year 1765, when Mr. Guilford travelled in the Derbyshire round, which then included Leicester, the opposition the Methodists had to encounter compelled them to seek the protection of the law. Mr. Guilford had formerly been a blacksmith in Leicester, and went before the magistrates as a witness. The mayor enquired why he took upon himself to preach; Guilford replied, "If, sir, I could satisfy my conscience, I would rather be a shepherd's dog than a Methodist preacher, but I feel that, 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.'" Only a conviction like that enabled these men to face and endure the perils and privations they were subjected to in those days of persecution.

His wife was an eminently holy woman, and proved a very great blessing to him in his work. In consequence of unpleasantness, arising out of a second marriage, it was judged expedient that he should give up the itinerant life and become a local preacher. He settled in London, where he finished his course with joy, in the year 1777. On the Saturday before he died, he

*Everett's, Sheffield, 216.

got out of bed, and desired his wife to join with him in prayer. Praying in a most fervent manner, particularly for the prosperity of Zion, his wife, being fearful that in the extreme weakness of his body he would exhaust himself too much, requested him to desist for a time ; but he replied, " Let me alone ; for I never had such sweet communion with Jesus before. I see the heavens opened, and I shall soon join that glorious company above." When he lay down in bed, he sung an anthem, in which were these words—" In Thy presence is life : heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." His soul was so swallowed up in God that he got no sleep the whole night. In the morning he arose remarkably cheerful, and repeated several verses of a hymn. He then, with eyes lifted up to heaven, leaning on his wife's shoulder, walked across the room, and said, " As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is but a step between me and death," and instantly, without sigh or groan, resigned his happy spirit into the arms of his beloved Saviour.

Mr. Wesley, in his Journal for Whit-Sunday, May 18th, 1777, writes,—“ I buried the body of Joseph Guilford, a holy man, and useful preacher. Surely never before did a man with so weak talents do so much good ! He died as he lived, in the full triumph of faith, vehemently rejoicing and praising God.”

Thomas Cherry entered upon the work of the ministry in the year 1767. He was a very pious, steady, useful young man. He laboured faithfully, and with success, for a few years, and then we find from Wesley's Journal that he fell a victim to his own indiscretion. May 7th, 1772, Wesley then in Scotland, when Cherry was supernumerary in Aberdeen, says, " I took Thos. Cherry away with me, but it was too late, he will hardly recover. Let all observe, (that no more preachers may murder themselves), here is another martyr to screaming ! ”

John Whittam, who this year commenced his itinerant career in the Keighley circuit, was a native of the district. He was born at Sutton, in the parish of Kildwick. At an early period of his life he was brought to a knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of the Rev. W. Grimshaw. He travelled forty-four years in England and Ireland.

He may have been sent to the Whitehaven section of the circuit to assist Mr. Guilford in the wide area which it covered, for we find mention of him in the manuscript already referred to. The writer says, " We may mention that holy man of God, John Whittam, a very striking example of Christian piety in his life and deportment. Holiness to the Lord appeared very conspicuous. Words fail fully to shew him in his

true character. Wherever he went he left a savour behind him, and the Lord blessed his labours in town and country." He travelled again in Whitehaven 1787, after it became a separate circuit.

Being interrogated as to the state of his soul, a little before his death, he replied, "I want to be filled with God," and afterwards declared that this desire was realised. In the extremity of his affliction he said, "Come, Lord Jesus, and take me to Thyself," and calmly resigned his spirit to God, in the 81st year of his age. He died near the place of his nativity, Feb. 16th, 1818.*

In Wesley's Journal there is no specific mention of a visit to Keighley circuit in 1768. He says, June 13th, "I left Newcastle, and in the residue of the month visited most of the societies in Yorkshire. A letter, however, written by him from Kendal, April 13th, to Mr. R. Costerdine, gives the dates when he expected to be in the circuit. He says,—“My dear Brother, if the debt of Colne House were given at Leeds Conference, it will be taken in of course. If it were not, I will lay Mr. Shaw's paper before the ensuing Conference. On Monday, June 27th, I hope to be at Pateley Bridge (coming from Tadcaster where I expect to preach at noon. One might meet me at Tadcaster.) Tuesday, 28th, at Skipton; Wednesday, 29th, at Otley; Saturday, July 2nd, at Keighley. You may have the three volumes. Do not spare to speak when you visit the classes again, and many will enlarge their subscriptions.”

The preachers appointed to the circuit in 1768, were Thomas Mitchell, Joseph Guilford, Wm. Ellis, and Thomas Newell.

Thomas Mitchell, as we have previously seen, was born in the circuit, and laboured there as a local preacher from 1747 to 1751. He now returned as assistant to scenes which must have been of familiar interest to him. His experiences during the interval of seventeen years were in some instances very trying. Great violence was done to him in Lincolnshire; and in Lancashire he suffered not less in another way.

The entire devotion of this brave soldier of Jesus Christ to Wesley and to his Lord is seen in the following extracts from his autobiography, which also illustrates the difficulties from within, as well as without, with which Methodism had to contend. "Coming in Dec. (1751), into Lancashire, I found trials of quite another kind. The poor people were in the utmost confusion, like a flock of frightened sheep. John Bennet, who before loved and revered Mr. Wesley for his work's sake, since he got into his new opinion, hated him cordially, and laboured to set all the people against him. He told them in the open congregation,

* Minutes of Conference, iv., p. 397.

that Mr. Wesley was a Pope, and that he preached nothing but popery. Dec. 30th, I met him at Bolton. I desired him to preach; but he would not. So I got up and spoke as well as I could, though with a heavy heart. After I had done, he met the society, and said many bitter things of Wesley. He then spread out his hands, and cried, 'Popery! Popery! I will not be in connexion with him any more.' I could not help telling him, "The spirit in which you now speak is not of God. Neither are you fit for the pulpit, while you are in such a spirit." While I was speaking, a woman that stood by me struck me in the face with all her might. Immediately all the congregation was in an uproar; so I thought it best to retire. Afterwards I believed it was my duty to expostulate with Mr. Bennet; but it did not avail: it seemed to me that all love was departed from him. His mind was wholly set against Mr. Wesley, and against the whole Methodist doctrine and discipline; and he had infused his own spirit into the people in many places, so that I had hard work among them. But the Lord kept my soul in peace and love. Glory be unto His holy name!"

Two years later, when in Wiltshire, we find Mr. Mitchell describing his experience thus—"Here I formed a firm resolution of cleaving more closely to God than ever I had done before. I longed to be wholly freed from the enemies which I carried in my bosom. I saw no other could possibly hurt me, if I could but conquer them. I read the Bible and prayed much, and found many blessings from the Lord. And I found, in particular, an entire disengagement from all earthly things. My soul was even as a weaned child. I was willing to be anything or nothing. I had no desire for anything in the world but to live unto the glory of God. O how easy does it make everything, when we can give up all for Christ."

William Ellis commenced to travel in 1763, and ceased in 1773. We can learn no particulars respecting him. Of Thomas Newell Methodist history is also silent, although he was nineteen years in the work, viz., from 1761 to 1780.

Many of the young men called out into the itinerancy by Wesley had married, and hitherto no settled provision had been made for wives and families. The Haworth circuit was in advance of others in its sense of responsibility in this matter, for we find that on July 23rd, 1761, the circuit paid Mr. Gibbs, for himself and wife, the sum of £5 12s. 6d. In 1762 three payments were made to Jonathan Catlow's family; and to Mr. Jeremiah Robertshaw £3 os. od. was paid, and to his family £1 os. od.

From the quotations already made it will have appeared that the Conferences had been, to a great extent, gatherings of

preachers for council and stimulus in their great work of evangelising the nation. As the organisation necessarily increased through the multiplication of preachers and the acquisition of property; matters of business arose which curtailed the time hitherto devoted to spiritual topics. This Wesley deplored, and to secure continued attention to themes of higher importance, made a suggestion which, modified in its form, might save large portions of time to the Conferences of our day, and make them infinitely greater occasions for good than under present conditions is possible.

In the Minutes of Conference for 1769 the question [is asked :—

“Q. 20. We have this year spent above two days in temporal business. How may we avoid this for the time to come?

A. Let the clerks do as much of it as they can by themselves, and it will save us half the time.

Conferences then usually occupied four days :—

1765, August 20 to 23	...	...	4 Days
1766, August 12 to 16	...	...	5 Days
1767, August 18 to 22	...	...	5 Days
1768, August 16 to 19	...	...	4 Days
1769, August 1 to 4	...	...	4 Days

At the Conference of 1769 the first division of the Haworth circuit took place. Whitehaven was separated from it, and as the undermentioned places are connected with Whitehaven in the society book of 1763, they would certainly form part of the new circuit :—

	Leaders				Members
Whitehaven	8	...	...	...	115
				(3 female bands, 1 male do.)	
Workington	1	...	...	...	12
Lorton ...	1	...	...	...	6
Branthwaite	1	...	...	...	12
Coldbeck ...	1	...	...	...	9
Brackenhill	1	...	...	...	10
Wigton ...	1	...	...	...	8
Cockermouth	1	...	...	...	19

All places north of Settle and Black Burton also, disappeared from the book, and among them Kendal, with 2 leaders and 25 members. The preachers appointed to Whitehaven were Joseph Guilford and John Wittam, who had travelled in the Haworth circuit in the years immediately previous. March 29th, 1770, there is an entry in the circuit book of 9s. od. towards Brother Mitchell's expenses to Whitehaven. This was probably a final

visit of the Keighley superintendent to arrange matters in the new circuit.

On the early history of Methodism in Whitehaven we quote from a manuscript written by Mr. Briscoe, of Whitehaven, about 1823, in the possession of Mrs. Wilfred Wilson, who in 1892 was living at 138, Coronation Road, Bristol, and at that time was 86 years of age. Mr. Briscoe was Mrs. Wilson's grandfather by marriage.

"From the best information now attainable, two Methodist preachers visited Whitehaven in the summer of 1745, and preached in the Market Place for the first time, in the midst of much interruption and insult; but finding encouragement from a few persons, whose names I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, they obtained liberty to preach in an archway, or stable, on the property of Mr. Ray, in Howgill Street." Who were these two men? I think it very probable that they were Messrs. Christopher Hopper and Joseph Cownley. Mr. Hopper thrice refers to Whitehaven, between the years 1749 and 1753, and in the memoir of Mr. Cownley it is said; "The work in the north of England extended much by the united labours of Mr. Cownley, and Mr. Hopper, and their brethren. Several societies were founded, which continue to this day." Though these dates are later than 1745, that may be incorrect, as in Mr. Briscoe's narrative it is but suppositious. I am more inclined to the date of 1749, because Mr. Wesley, on September 22nd, preached at Whitehaven for the first time, "moved by the pressing instances of Mr. Cownley," and also, "explained the design, nature, and use of Christian societies," and "at eight endeavoured to mould as many as desired it into a regular society." This indicates that no classes had then been formed. Until the 30th he was more or less in the neighbourhood, and on the 28th, says, "John Brown and Mr. Hopper were with me."

"Shortly after this the Assembly Room in the same street was hired for the purpose of public worship, which was held there for some time. Yet preaching in the open-air was occasionally continued, tho' with much opposition. Much time had not elapsed when a small society was formed, and tickets given to 16 or 20 persons, male and female, who formed a body, and seconded the efforts of the preachers both in town and country. Finding the society to increase, the civil powers were sought unto for protection, and persecution gradually declined. The preachers and others who zealously advocated the cause, finding the great Head of the Church to bless them in their labours by a rapid increase of members desirous of serving God, a consultation took place concerning ground whereon to build a

chapel, and also in regard to ways and means how to accomplish so great a work. The rich and great of the town, holding influence with the Lord of the Manor, Sir James Lowther, who possessed all the vacant ground in or near the town; of that class of people few if any had countenanced the new sect; however, through the medium of the Lord's gardener and butler, who had joined the society, application was made to Sir James, who was then in the town, and the result was favourable. Soon after this a kind Providence influenced many good people to aid in building the ark, both by subscriptions and donations of manual labour.

"In April, 1751, Richard Gwyn was deputed to wait upon Sir James Lowther at the Castle, who, contrary to all expectation, pointed out the plot of ground whereon stands the present new chapel, as a free gift, except the payment of 27s. 4d. annually as Lord's rent. Seven trustees were then chosen and appointed to manage and superintend the building, viz., Wm. Benn, Jno. Cook, Thos. Walker, Jno. Moscrop, Jno. Roughley, Jas. Davinson, and Hy. Fox. Notwithstanding the ground being obtained and other help promised, yet much time passed over without fully entering into that spirit which the business required; but in process of time the building was erected, and upon what was then thought a large scale, and formed in a regular way, so as to seat about 400 persons. I cannot learn who first opened the chapel, perhaps our dear Revd. Father Mr. Wesley, or Mr. John Pawson, who was in Whitehaven at a very early period of Methodism. (Myles gives 1759 as the date of erection.) The chapel being opened the society and congregation increased rapidly, so that two preachers found sufficient exercise in town and country."

(If the chapel was opened by John Pawson it must have been finished in 1763, as he was in the round in that year.)

"As the subscriptions, donations, and labour gratis, were very encouraging, the trustees were induced, for the further convenience of the preachers, to build a respectable dwelling house next to the chapel, so that both the preachers were in that respect rendered comfortable. With the blessing of heaven which had ever attended this infant church, many souls were added thereto, and to the Lord. Respectability, regularity, and good order followed, after the church found a resting place and temple. What added much comfort to the people, and gave stability to the work of God, was to find that dear blessed man, Mr. Wesley, to own and regularly visit them.

"Our dear Revd. Father Mr. Wesley, has never been inattentive to his children in Whitehaven, but continued his visits as long as bodily strength permitted. His last visit I well re-

member, as also the last sermon he preached to us. It rained in torrents during the morning service from 5 to 6. After the sermon he gave out, 'Lift up your hearts to things above,' &c., to which he raised Wednesbury, and finding that we could join him, he said, 'I am glad to find you can sing my favourite tune.' Then in his last prayer he earnestly begged the Lord to stop the bottles of Heaven, which immediately took place, and he had a pleasant ride to Cockermouth."

"So far the Lord blessed this best of causes that, Jan. 14th, 1761, the chapel was registered at the Quarter Sessions, Cockermouth, for Divine Service, and in February new trustees were chosen to manage and let, in the place of those whom God had taken to their reward; for from what I have learned all died in the faith. Their successors were Robt. Swindells, John Brownrigg, John Gillespie, Jno. McCombe, Daniel Jenkinson, John Littledale, and Mr. Wilson, people whom I very well know.

"In the early months of 1791, there was a subsidence of the earth at Whitehaven, by which 100 houses were damaged. The chapel and preacher's house suffered greatly. A friend came to the aid of the cause from an unexpected quarter. James Haygarth, Esq., sent for the preacher and offered him a commodious house rent free. Mr. Haygarth had built a church for his tenantry. Through the interference of Lord L—, the bishop refused to consecrate it. Mr. Haygarth gave the Methodists the use of it, and allowed the stewards to let the pews and use the money. Sometime after Mr. Haygarth came to a lovefeast. After hearing some speak, he rose, and though making no profession of experimental religion, said, 'I am exceedingly pleased to see this place answering the end for which I built it. I was lately invited to dine with Lord L. In the course of conversation his Lordship said, 'Haygarth, what did it cost you to build that church?' '£1,600 my Lord.' 'I will give you that for it' (said his Lordship) 'but I will not promise that the Methodists shall have it.' I replied, 'My Lord, whilst the Methodists conduct themselves as they do, I will not sell the church for twice its value, and none shall dispossess them of it.' Lord L. said, 'I have often wondered what could induce me to advise the Bishop not to consecrate the place.' I answered, 'It was not you, my Lord, that prevented the Bishop, but a Higher Power, for a better purpose.'

"Mr. Haygarth concluded by saying, 'You poor Methodists, that cannot pay your rents, come to me, and I will find shelter for 30 or 40 of you.' A second preacher being appointed at the Conference, Mr. Haygarth found him a house and furnished it.

"Daniel Jenkinson and Wm. Wilson were very useful local preachers for many years, till God thought fit to take them in 1791.

"I now come to remark on the circumstances within the compass of my own recollection, being carried to the chapel from my earliest years by my parents, who were members of the society, and members also of Christ's mystical body, till they changed worlds. I very well remember that man of God, Mr. Joseph Guilford being here. With the blessing of God and his zealous and indefatigable labours, both in the pulpit and in going from house to house, many souls were brought to God, and multitudes also to hear the word, so that the chapel on Sabbath evenings proved too small. I think he had in early life been in the army, from many remarks made in the pulpit, such as, when a red coat entered the door 'Come in brother, I love the colour of your cloth, etc.'

"We then had, and for many years after, preaching, or an exhortation, every evening, Tuesdays excepted, which was set apart for class meetings. Morning preaching at five o'clock was strictly attended to, and field preaching also when the weather permitted. Stewards, leaders, and trustees appeared full of zeal, and were very useful in prayer meetings, reading sermons, and some in preaching. It is not intended to mention all the preachers' names in their regular succession, but only those in whom appeared either more grace and holy fire than ordinary, or otherwise something in their composition rather singular; therefore I shall next bring before you (1773) that champion in the Redeemer's cause, Mr. Jacob Rowell. I perhaps heard every sermon he preached in Whitehaven, and he might well be styled, wrestling Jacob. Words fail me fully to describe and set forth that blessed and dear man of God. If ever the devil's kingdom got a shake by the preaching of Christ crucified in Whitehaven, 'twas then. I am very sorry to observe that although the number of members in Whitehaven at that time was short of 100, yet on a week night we nearly had twice the number of hearers we have now when our members in society are so numerous. During J. Rowell's stay our chapel was overcrowded, which attracted the attention of the men in office. A meeting of the people took place, and it was determined not only to gallery the chapel, but also to have a circuit house for the preacher's use, as the circuit was then so extensive, taking in all the villages and towns on the coast Northward as far as Brampton, and Carlisle itself, which of late years has assumed a character clandestinely taken from Whitehaven, *the Head of the District*. Even Carlisle had its birth and nourishment from Whitehaven and its ministers."

There are side lights shed by this manuscript upon the domestic life of the preachers of those days. The writer says of a Mr. John Wiltshaw—"He had no wife when stationed here for the first time, and, being of a free, open disposition, had much opportunity of being useful. He loved every place, and everyone loved him. He lived in the single preacher's room, and cooked and waited on himself, but the chief part of his victuals he got among the people."

Of another he says—"Mr. John Peacock was a valiant champion in the Redeemer's cause, and he told me that in youth he was as valiant in the cause of Satan; for wrestling, boxing, &c., he was not easily vanquished. He brought with him a numerous retinue—wife, two sons, and three or four daughters, one of whom he thought so good from her birth that she had scarcely tasted of the fall. A family like this very ill suited our circumstances at that time. The carriage of them and their boxes cost, I think, £6; and while all was confusion in the house, this great family with all their appendages, and the leaders, stewards, &c., a general thought struck, I believe, the whole, and Joseph Browning, a leader, trustee, and steward, said—'What can we do with such a brood as this?' Resentment kindled in the good minister, and he stood up and extended his gigantic arm, supported by the other, and said, 'As the Lord liveth, if I hear any more of this, I break you every man.'"

The state of things above described was so intolerable that an attempt to remedy it was made in the Conference of 1769.

The preachers appointed as colleagues to T. Mitchell in 1769 were George Hudson, Thomas Wride, and David Evans.

Of George Hudson we learn nothing more than that he became an itinerant preacher in 1761, and retired from the work in 1780. Myles names him as one expelled, and there is this note in the Minutes for that year, beneath the list of those desisting from travelling—"As we admit no one as a travelling preacher, unless we judge him to have grace, gifts, and fruit; so we cannot receive anyone as such any longer than he retains those qualifications."

We know little more respecting Daniel Evans. He began to travel this year, and continued in the work until 1783. He also was one of the weaker brethren in the itinerancy, for Wesley kept him on trial longer than was his wont, and says of him, in a letter to Christopher Hopper, October 31st, 1778. "At a general Conference, David Evans was judged unqualified for a travelling preacher." He, however, only remained without appointment one year.

Thomas Wride was an original both in the pulpit and out of it. Though not destitute of preaching qualifications, yet he indulged too much in quaintness and mimicry, the recollection of which is more vivid than any special instance of usefulness. He had naturally a mechanical genius, which displayed itself in the regulation and repair of clocks and watches, which he met with at the houses where he lodged, and he often astonished his friends in the Dales by his ingenuity in suspending the fire irons to his own time piece so as to make them fall at any given hour in the morning at which they might wish to be awakened. This was, of course, on the same principle as an alarm clock, but at that time it excited no small amount of wonder.*

Wride was also a quack doctor, either for profit or fancy, and several of his prescriptions are still extant in his own handwriting. They illustrate the barbarous methods of treating disease which for centuries had been practised.

One of these I give as a curious specimen of painless dentistry:

"Seethe the brain of a hare in red wine, and therewith anoint the tooth, and it will fall out without pain."

Another:—"Put in the hollow tooth ashes of worms, or the brain of a partridge, and anoint the tooth on the outside with the powder of red coral. It will make it fall out."

Such prescriptions as these, and other supposed remedies surviving from ancient practice, serve to explain why Wesley is so often emphatic in his letters respecting recommendation of his *Primitive Physic*, and reveal the necessity and benevolence of such a medical work, on simple and more common sense lines than those under which the poor were then treated.

I close the year with another unpublished letter of John Nelson, "to the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, at the Foundry, near Moorfields, London."

"Sunderland, December 5th, 1769.

Dear Sir,

This, with my duty to you, and best love to you and yours. I can say that there is not one day passes that you are not brought to my remembrance when I pray in private, and here is multitudes in this round asketh after you. There is many of your children about Sheephill, and Spen, and Horsley, and other places that say they would go 20 miles to see you once more in the flesh, for they bless God that ever they heard you. Sister Tinkler has gone in full triumph since I came, and several lately that were the fruit of your preaching at Tanfield Cross, and we had a young man near Horsley that I visited, died happy. Our congregations is large in every place; I think Durham was

*Steele's Barnard Castle, 138.

never in so prosperous a way before. There is several fresh members joined in several parts of the round and many back-sliders come again, and some hath found peace after their great revolts ; to God be all the glory. I think if God give you strength and direct you once more into the North I believe it will be a blessing to thousands, and to your own soul, for I find it to be a blessing to my soul to find so many of our first fruits stand so fast in the way they were called, and to hear of so many that is gone off in such a triumphant manner, and to see others come in to fill up their places. I desire an interest in your prayers and in all the church of God. I hear my wife is in but a poor state of health. O sir, pray for her as I do for you and yours, and I shall be glad to hear from you, and how the work of God goes on with you in that place. My kind love to all enquiring friends, from your unworthy brother in Christ and as a son to serve in the Gospel,

JOHN NELSON."

Wesley approached the Haworth circuit once more, by way of York, on June 25th, 1770. He says: "I preached at Tadcaster at noon, and at Pateley Bridge in the evening. It rained as usual, all the time ; but the congregation stood as still as the trees ; and God did satisfy the hungry with good things, many of whom have given him all their heart. Sunday, 26th, it rained all the time I was preaching at Otley, to a numerous congregation ; and they drank in the words of life, just as the thirsty earth the showers. The next evening I preached in a house at Yeadon, the rain not suffering me to stand abroad."

From Yeadon we find that Wesley went direct to the valley of the Calder. "Thursday, 28th, I rode to Mr. Sutcliffe's at Hoohole (near Mytholmroyd), a lovely valley, encompassed with high mountains. I stood on the smooth grass before his house (which stands on a gently rising ground), and all the people on the slope before me. It was a glorious opportunity. I trust many 'came boldly to the throne, and found grace to help in time of need.'

"I can hardly believe that I am this day entered into the sixty-eighth year of my age. How marvellous are the ways of God ! How has he kept me even from a child ! From ten to thirteen or fourteen, I had little but bread to eat, and not great plenty of that. I believe this was so far from hurting me, that it laid the foundation of lasting health. When I grew up, in consequence of reading Dr. Cheyne, I chose to eat sparingly, and drink water. This was another way of continuing my health, till I was about seven-and-twenty. I then began spitting of

blood, which continued several years. A warm climate cured this. I was afterwards brought to the brink of death by a fever; but it left me healthier than before. Eleven years after, I was in the third stage of a consumption; in three months it pleased God to remove this also. Since that time I have known neither pain nor sickness, and am now healthier than I was forty years ago. This hath God wrought.”*

From Mytholmroyd, Wesley went to Heptonstall, Colne, and Keighley, on Friday and Saturday, preaching in each place. Sunday, July 14th, he says: “Being much concerned for the poor parishioners of Haworth, who hear and hear, and are no more affected than stones, I spoke to them in the most cutting manner I could. May God apply it to their hearts!” On Monday and Tuesday he preached at Bingley and Bradford, and on Wednesday rode to Halifax. This concludes all the record we possess concerning Wesley’s visit to the circuit in 1770.

The preachers appointed to the circuit in 1770 were Richard Seed, George Hudson and Daniel Evans.

The two latter were noticed in connection with the preceding year.

Richard Seed began to travel in 1768, and died in 1805. The only information obtainable concerning him is the Conference notice, “He was an old, well-known preacher, who travelled several years with a fair character, and finished his earthly course with an apoplectic fit; which, although a sudden call, we are well satisfied, found him prepared for his heavenly inheritance.”

The extracts from Wesley’s correspondence and the Minutes of Conference have indicated his great concern that the Methodist Societies should consist of holy people zealous of good works. Antinomianism had wrought havoc in many places, and the extreme Calvinism of that day not only limited the offer of salvation to all men, but tended to weaken the obligation to a life of strict godliness. Hence in the Conference of 1770, the question was asked, “What can be done to revive the work of God where it is decayed?” The points in the answers given to it all show that to stimulate holy living was the sole object of the leader of Methodism.

The Minutes of Conference for 1770 were so important in their practical character, and in the consequences resulting from them, as to demand special attention by the student of Methodism. “We must needs visit from house to house, were it only to avoid idleness. I am afraid we are idle still. Do we not loiter away many hours in every week? Try yourselves. Keep a diary of

*Wesley’s Journal.

your employment but for a week, and then read it over. No idleness can consist with growth of grace. Nay, without exactness in redeeming time, it is impossible to retain even the life you received in justification.”*

Minutes 2, 3, 4, 5, refer to circulation of useful books, field preaching, morning preaching, singing, fasting, and deliverance from sin, the appointment of four fast days, children and the church, and the 5th regulates preaching in the interests of the Church of England.

The consequences of what was stated under the 6th head were so serious, as to make it essential for the vindication of Wesley and his preachers, that the connection between the foregoing items of counsel should not be lost sight of.

No. 6 was “Take heed of your doctrine. We said, in 1744. ‘We have leaned too much towards Calvinism.’ Wherein?”

1. With regard to *man’s faithfulness*. Our Lord Himself taught us to use the expression, and we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on His authority, that if a man is not ‘faithful in the unrighteous mammon,’ God will not give him the true riches.

2 With regard to *working for life*. This also our Lord has commanded us, ‘Labour,’ literally, ‘Work for the meat that endureth to everlasting life.’ And, in fact, every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for* as well as *from* life.

3. We have received it as a maxim, that ‘a man is to do nothing in order to justification.’ Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should ‘cease from evil and learn to do well.’ Whoever repents should do ‘works meet for repentance.’ And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?

Review the whole affair.

1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God? He that now believes in Christ with a loving obedient heart.

2. But who amongst those that never heard of Christ? He that feareth God and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

3. Is this the same with ‘he that is sincere?’ Nearly, if not quite.

4. Is not this ‘salvation by works?’ Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.

5. What have we then been disputing about these last thirty years? I am afraid about words.

6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully

*Can we find a better method of visiting than that set down in the Minutes of 1766, pp 63-68.

afraid ; we are rewarded '*according to our works,*' yea, '*because of our works.*' How does this differ from *for the sake of our works*? And how differs this from—as our works *deserve*? Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot.

The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who, by their own confession, neither feared God nor wrought righteousness. Is this an exception to the general rule?

It is a doubt, God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own saying so is not proof: for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

8. Does not talking of a justified or a sanctified state tend to mislead men? almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas, we are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God, '*according to our works*'; according to the whole of our inward tempers and our outward behaviour."

Writing in defence of these Minutes, the Revd. John Fletcher shows the state of things in some of the societies at that time. He was well acquainted with both Wesley's and those of Lady Huntingdon, and from his relations of close friendship with Wesley, may be taken as revealing the view of things held by his friend. He says, "I could not help seeing that it was only to guard them (the preachers) and their hearers against Antinomian principles and practices, which spread like wild fire in some of his societies, where persons who spoke in the most glorious manner of Christ, and their interest in His complete salvation, have been found living in the greatest immoralities, or indulging in the unchristian tempers."

The Wesleys and their saintly helper, John Fletcher, of Madeley, had maintained the warmest christian friendship with the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield, and many of the evangelical clergy who held Calvinistic opinions. At times the conflicting doctrines disturbed the relations between them, but love for souls and concern for the glory of God enabled them to bear with each other, and work for one end.

When establishing her Theological College at Trevecca, the Countess of Huntingdon induced Fletcher to become president of the institution, and Joseph Benson, one of Wesley's preachers, to take the position of classical tutor. Fletcher's position was becoming increasingly influential in the Connexion, and he is brought into great prominence during the controversy now to be noticed.

These Minutes of Conference fiercely re-opened the Calvinistic controversy, and were therefore of much importance in their effects upon the course of the revival of the eighteenth century. Wesley expected to accompany the Countess of Huntingdon into Wales very shortly after Conference, but her ladyship was so horrified by the doctrinal minutes of that assembly, as to write him saying, that until he renounced such doctrines, she must exclude him from all her pulpits.

As the Minutes of Conference became widely known, they gave great offence to the Calvinistic clergy and their followers, and Lady Huntingdon's stand against them brought her at once into collision with her classical tutor, Mr. Benson, and she dismissed him from his position at the College of Trevecca.

Fletcher, the president of the college, nobly defended both Benson and the Wesleys, in a letter which he wrote to the Countess on Jan. 7th, 1771. "Mr. Benson made a very just defence when he said, he held with me the possibility of salvation for all men; that mercy is offered to all; and yet may be received or rejected. If this is what your ladyship calls Mr. Wesley's opinion, free will, and Arminianism, and if 'every Arminian must quit the college,' I am actually discharged also; for, in my present view of things, I must hold that sentiment, if I believe that the Bible is true, and that God is love.

For my part, I am no party-man. In the Lord, I am your servant, and that of your every student; but I cannot give up the honour of being connected with my old friends, who, notwithstanding their failings, are entitled to my respect, gratitude, and assistance, could I occasionally give them any. Mr Wesley shall always be welcome to my pulpit, and I shall gladly bear my testimony in his, as well as in Mr. Whitefield's. But if your ladyship forbid your students to preach for the one, and offer them to preach for the other at every turn; and if a master is discarded for believing that Christ died for all; then prejudice reigns, charity is cruelly wounded, and party spirit shouts, prevails, and triumphs."

Wesley did all that was reasonable to set the Countess and her friends right as to his meaning in the Minutes, and had they acted in the spirit which breathes through his reply to Lady Huntingdon, the bitterness of that day's Calvinistic controversy would have been avoided. Writing from Ireland to the Countess, June 19th, 1771, he says, respecting the Minutes of 1770: "It is probable, at least, that I understand my own meaning as well as you do; and that meaning I have yet again declared in the sermon (on Mr. Whitefield's funeral) last referred to. By that interpret those ten lines, and you will understand them better;

although I should think that any one might see, even without this help, that the lines in question do not refer to the condition of obtaining, but of continuing in the favour of God. But whether the sentiment contained in those lines be right or wrong, and whether it be well or ill expressed, the gospel which I now preach God does still confirm by new witnesses in every place; perhaps never so much in this kingdom as within these last three months. Now, I argue from glaring, undeniable fact. God cannot bear witness to a lie; the gospel, therefore, which He confirms must be true in substance. There may be opinions maintained at the same time which are not exactly true; and who can be secure from these? Perhaps I thought myself so once. When I was much younger than I am now, I thought myself almost infallible, but, I bless God, I know myself better now. To be short. Such as I am, I love you well. You have one of the first places in my esteem and affection; and you once had some regard for me. But it cannot continue if it depends upon my seeing with your eyes, or on my being in no mistake. What if I was in as many as Mr. Law himself? If you were, I should love you still, provided your heart was still right with God. My dear friend, you seem not to have well learned yet the meaning of those words, which I desire to have continually written upon my heart, 'Whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'*

I am, my dear lady, your affectionate

JOHN WESLEY."

Lady Huntingdon took action against Wesley, and appears to have intended to go in person to the Conference of 1771. The writer of her Life says that she issued, through the Rev. Walter Shirley, a circular inviting all denominations to join her in visiting the Conference, to compel its members to revoke their Minutes. Immediately on receipt of this circular Fletcher wrote to Lady Huntingdon, threatening to take the field in defence of the Minutes, if the meditated attack on Wesley were not given up. To Mr. Shirley Fletcher also complained bitterly of the hurt done to Wesley's character by the circular. "Thousands of his friends you have grieved, offended, or staggered; and confirmed thousands of his enemies in their hard thoughts of him, and in their unjust contempt of his ministry."†

That Wesley did not mean to teach salvation by works is clear from the following incident. A deputation of ministers and laymen, connected with the Countess of Huntingdon, sought

**Methodist Magazine*, 1797, p. 563.

†Lady Huntingdon's Life, ii. p. 240.

admission to the Conference of 1771, and after a long conversation, the Rev. Walter Shirley produced a written declaration which he wished the Conference to sign. Wesley examined it, and made some alterations, which Shirley says were "not very material"; and then Wesley and fifty-three of his itinerant preachers appended to it their signatures. The declaration was as follows: "Whereas the doctrinal points in the Minutes of a Conference, held in London, August 7th, 1770, have been understood to favour justification by works; Now the Rev. John Wesley and others assembled in Conference, do declare that we had no such meaning, and that we abhor the doctrine of Justification by Works as a most perilous and abominable doctrine; and, as the said Minutes are not sufficiently guarded in the way they are expressed, we hereby solemnly declare, in the sight of God, that we have no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for Justification or Salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment, and, though no one is a real Christian believer, (and consequently cannot be saved) who doth not good works, where there is time and opportunity, yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our salvation from first to last either in whole or in part."

The trading of some of his preachers was still troubling Wesley, hence the following question in Conference. "Two years ago it was agreed that Itinerant Preachers ought not to follow trades. How can we secure the observance of this?"

Answer. It is agreed by all the brethren now met in Conference, this 9th day of August, 1770, that no preacher who will not relinquish his trade of buying and selling, or making and vending pills, drops, balsams, or medicines of any kind, shall be considered as a Travelling Preacher any longer; and that it shall be demanded of all those Preachers who have traded in cloth, hardware, pills, drops, balsams, or medicines of any kind, at the next Conference, whether they have entirely left it off or not.

"But observe we do not object to a preacher's having a share in a ship." These resolutions undoubtedly had reference, among others to James Oddie, who, from correspondence extant, had shares in a ship, and ultimately left the ministry to engage in trade.

He had been two years supernumerary at Newcastle, and was entered on the Minutes this year as supernumerary at Yarm, probably as an act of discipline. As he disappears from the Minutes at the Conference of 1771, it may be supposed that he refused to comply with the discipline on this question of trade. This is the more probable, as we find Wesley naming

Oddie as dissatisfied, in a letter written to Mr. Merryweather, of Yarm.

"My Dear Brother—

I have the credit of stationing the preachers; but many of them go where they *will* go, for all me. For instance, I have marked down James Oddie and John Nelson for Yarm circuit; yet, I am not certain that either of them will come. They can give twenty reasons for going elsewhere. Mr. Murlin says he must be in London. 'Tis certain he has a mind to be there; therefore, so it must be; for you know a man of fortune is master of his own motions.

I am, your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

Then, as now, it seems, stationing difficulties were not uncommon.

Preachers who married found themselves in very straitened circumstances, and, in some cases, the wife had to carry on a small business at home, while the husband was travelling the round. He sometimes embraced the opportunity which the enlarged sphere of his labours presented, of disposing of the goods which his shop contained.*

One of the old preachers, Mr. Matthew Lowes, obliged, like many of his brethren, by the meagre allowances of those days, to devise some expedient by which to augment his scanty income, prepared an excellent balsam, which attained great celebrity, and was sold as late as 1857 by the name of Lowes' Balsam. Several of the first preachers, as well as himself, disposed of a considerable quantity of it, and he no doubt found the profits arising from this source to afford a seasonable relief for the wants of a dependent family.

The rule putting a stop to all forms of trade was necessary to prevent the preachers from becoming more intent on trade than on their great work. While persecution was the common lot of the itinerants, and very slight provision existed anywhere for their comfort or maintenance, these tests of sincerity, and the necessities of the case, rendered trading permissible. But as times became more quiet, as houses were built for them, and they began to exercise a wider influence, it became necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent suspicion of personal and worldly motives, and to keep them strictly to the high calling they had embraced.

Mr. Wesley and the Conference did not make an arbitrary rule,

*Steele, 57.

but carefully considered the case of married men, and provided to the best of their ability to meet this self-denying ordinance.

From the Minutes of the Conference of 1769, it appears that the married preachers were, before this time, sent only to the circuits which could maintain them. This was productive of many inconveniences, as there were very few circuits which could do this. To remedy this evil, every circuit was required to do a little towards paying the stipend of the preachers' wives; so that a married preacher might be sent into any circuit, whether it could wholly provide for his family or not. Hence in the old book of the Haworth round we have:—

October 18th, 1748, to Mr. Darney's wife	... £1 10 0
April 18th, 1749, do.	... 2 2 0

Further provision was made for wives and families in 1770. The names of the preachers' wives that needed support were published, and the circuits which were to provide for them were also mentioned. There were then forty-three to be provided for by the circuits in general. The children were to be supported by the circuits in which their parents laboured. It was now agreed that a preacher should receive £12 a year for his wife, and £4 a year for each of his children, to be paid quarterly; the boys till they were eight.

An entry in the circuit book of 1/6, paid April 1st, 1771, for sending a horse from Colne to Rochdale, indicates that the Lancashire portion of the circuit was making Colne its head.

Another entry of the same date points to the admission of Settle into the round of regular appointments: "Rent for a room to preach in at Settle, 10s." There is also a payment of 5s. to Joseph Waterhouse for supplying the round in Mr. Seed's absence.

The same Joseph Waterhouse appears ten years later in a list of local preachers, entered into the society book by Mr. Bradburn. The number in society was 1241.

On June 29th, 1772, Wesley was again in the Keighley circuit, approaching it from York by way of Tadcaster. He says: "I preached about ten at Tadcaster, and in the evening at Pateley Bridge." At the quarterly meeting, held July 16th, Mr. Robertshaw brought in a bill of £1 1s. 10d. for mending Mr. Wesley's chaise, and his expenses from Tadcaster to Keighley. This sheds light upon the manner in which the travelling expenses of the head of the Methodist societies were paid. From the next entry in the Journal it appears that Mrs. Wesley accompanied her husband.

"Tuesday, 30th, calling at a little inn on the moors, I spoke a few words to an old man there, as my wife did to the woman of the house. They both appeared to be deeply affected. Perhaps

Providence sent me to this house for the sake of these two poor souls. In the evening I preached in the new house at Otley, as neat as that at Hull; and the people appeared to be much alive; so that I was greatly comforted among them."

On July 4th, Wesley says: "I rode to Ewood, to S. Lockwood's, formerly the wife of young Mr. Grimshaw; afterwards married to Mr. Lockwood, and now again a young widow.

"At one I preached at Heptonstall to some thousands of people, who stood just before the preaching house on a lovely green, which rises slope above slope like artificial terraces. Hence, we climbed up and down wonderful mountains to Keighley, where many from various parts were waiting for us." Wesley would come to Keighley by the romantic road leading to Oxenhope by Pecket Well. The valleys of the Hebden and Worth at that time would be extremely lovely, woods, pure streams, and broad stretches of moorland, in the height of summer glory, before the advent of mills, must have presented views of exquisite beauty to the appreciative gaze of the great evangelist.

Sunday, 5th, he says: "Not half the congregation at Haworth could get into the Church in the morning, nor a third part in the afternoon; so I stood on a kind of pulpit, near the side of the Church. Such a congregation was never seen there before; and I believe all heard distinctly."

Wesley appears to have spent the Sunday night at Haworth, for on Monday he preached at Bingley; and tradition says, at Exley Head, he encountered a crowd of people from Keighley assembled at a bull-baiting. It is said that he alighted from his chaise, and spoke so kindly to them that they invited him to preach. He gladly accepted the invitation, and his sermon made a good impression on the multitude.

After preaching to a large congregation at Bingley, Wesley went to Bradford, and thence to Halifax, where, although Titus Knight offered him the use of his chapel, he preferred to preach in the Cow Market, judging that more people would attend in the open-air. An incident occurred as he was either going to, or returning from, that place, which illustrates the treatment Wesley was called upon to endure, and the spirit in which he met it.

Such a bitter spirit of malignity had been engendered in the minds of the populace against the Methodists, that a man of the name of Bramley, unable longer to subdue his fiendish rage, burst through the crowd and running towards Wesley struck him a most violent blow on the cheek, with the flat of his hand. The holy saint paused, and though tears started into his eyes from the smartness of the blow, remembering the admonition of his Master, "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to

him the other also," turned to his assailant the other cheek. The coward was so struck with the circumstance that he slunk back into the crowd.

From correspondence between Mrs. Marshall, of Park House, Guiseley, and Mrs. Hopper, the wife of Mr. Christopher Hopper, one of Wesley's itinerants, we learn that this lady accompanied the great evangelist on this preaching tour in 1772. Writing on July 16th, 1772, she says: "I have taken a little round with Mr. Wesley; I have had a good profitable time. My old friend, Miss Hurrell, was along with me at Keighley, Haworth, Bingley, Bradford, Dawgreen, Birstall, Leeds and Ledsham, and Mrs. Crosley at some of the places. I was also two days and a night at Miss Bosanquet's, and indeed she seems to have all the qualifications of a gentlewoman and Christian; what a pity so good a woman should be imposed upon in any degree."

The Miss Hurrell, to whom Mrs. Marshall alludes, was awakened from the sleep of sin under the ministry of the Rev. J. Berridge, of Everton. She travelled through many counties of the kingdom preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, and was rendered very useful in this part of Yorkshire, as also in Lancashire and Derbyshire. For some cause unknown, she in some measure, after years of active service, buried the precious talent committed to her by the Lord. When death stared her in the face she deeply lamented her unfaithfulness, and for some time was overwhelmed in distress. "I am going to die," she said, "I am entering the eternal world, but all is dark before me; neither sun, moon, nor stars appear. O that I had my time to live again, I would not bury my talent as I have done." It pleased the Lord, however, to lift up the light of His countenance upon her, ere she departed hence, and enable her to bear ample testimony to His almighty power to save to the uttermost.

The circuit appointment at the Conference of 1772 was Thomas Johnson, John Poole, and Thomas Tatton. Thomas Johnson travelled in the circuit in the year 1761, and has been noticed at that time; John Poole under year 1765. Thomas Tatton had then been one year in the itinerancy, and of him we know nothing, save that he ceased to travel in 1778.

We close the year 1772 with another of John Nelson's unpublished letters.

"To the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley at the Room in the Horse Fair in the City of Bristol. 8

Huddersfield, Dec. 5th, 1772.

Dear Sir,

This with my duty to you and earnest prayer for you and

yours. I do not know that one day passes without you being brought to my mind. But you have reason to think otherwise, for I find the letter I sent by a private hand was not delivered to you. But my soul is united to yours as much as ever, and there is no letters so cheering to my soul as yours. But I have had many trials since I saw you, for my wife hath not had one week's health for above four years, so that she is almost like a skeleton, and cannot help herself. But she is happy in her soul in the midst of pain and weakness; and my granddaughter that looked to her is dead of a consumption, and she laid nine months badly, but died praising the Lord. But I was obliged to keep one to wait on them, and to sell my young horse to pay them and the doctor, and I bless God that I was able to pay as far as I did. I find my soul in peace, and the Lord doth yet convert sinners by His word, and many hath died in triumph of faith lately. Our Brother John Beamont (Beaumont?) of Kirkhutton, finished his course about six weeks since, after ten years' affliction, in full triumph; he died of a fistula, and died as by inches. He had known the Lord to be his God and Saviour for near one and thirty years, and he was never known to slack his pace or to change his sentiment in all that time. I was with him a few days before he died, and I felt the Lord present with him, and he said I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith that God wrought in my heart above thirty years ago. My God hath kept my soul in peace in the midst of racking pain and want through my long affliction, and without murmuring, and He hath prepared me for an eternal inheritance. He exhorted the class that he had care of to keep in the way God called them in, and but few children cry so tenderly for a father as the people of that society did for the loss of him when I went to preach his funeral. Mrs. Crowder died near the same time; she had been a pattern to all about her in patience and good works, and she lived above a year under the afflicting hand of God, and praised Him with her last breath; and a man that had persecuted his wife for more than thirty years we have reason to believe is escaped and gone to Christ through the prayers of his wife to God, heard for him. O Sir, I long to see you and all my friends there, and I desire you and all to pray for me and mine.

From your son to serve,
JOHN NELSON."

About the year 1756, Charles Wesley ceased to travel like his brother through the kingdom visiting the societies. His strong church principles had been expressed in very marked manner as we have seen, and as neither Wesley's preachers

nor people in many cases shared these views, John Wesley doubtless saw that to leave the societies in the hand of his brother, in the event of his own death, would mean general disruption, and an end of that evangelism which the British Isles so greatly needed. He therefore first intended to make Grimshaw his successor, as general superintendent of the Methodists; but in 1763 Grimshaw died in the prime of life, and Wesley had to look elsewhere. His mind never seems to have reverted to Charles, although he did not cease to write very plainly to his brother as to their common duty to fulfil the call of God.

However highly we may esteem Charles Wesley for his gifts and piety, we cannot fail to see that he did not answer, in some points, to the standard set up in the mind of his elder brother for the post of leader; and his age and infirmities might also be regarded as disqualifications.

At length Wesley fixed upon Fletcher as the man most suitable to succeed himself in the rule of the societies, and in a letter written January 1773 says:—"I see, more and more, unless there be one bishop, the work can never be carried on. The body of the preachers are not united; nor will any part of them submit to the rest; so that, either there must be one to preside over all, or the work will indeed come to an end.

"But who is sufficient for these things? qualified to preside over both the preachers and people? He must be a man of faith and love, and one that has a single eye to the advancement of the Kingdom of God. He must have a clear understanding; a knowledge of men and things, particularly of the Methodist doctrine and discipline; a ready utterance, diligence and activity, with a tolerable share of health. There must be added to these, favour with the people, with the Methodists in general. For unless God turn their eyes and their hearts toward him, he will be quite incapable of the work. He must, likewise, have some degree of learning; because there are many adversaries, learned as well as unlearned, whose mouths must be stopped. But this cannot be done, unless he be able to meet them on their own ground. But has God provided one so qualified? Who is he? *Thou are the man!* . . . Come out then in the name of God! Come while I am alive and capable of labour! Come while I am able, God assisting, to build you up in faith, to ripen your gifts, and to introduce you to the people!*

Fletcher's reply, dated Madeley, Feb. 6th, 1773, shows that he saw an insuperable difficulty in the position in which accept-

*Tyerman's Wesley, 3-148.

ance would place him toward Charles Wesley. His humility also, and the requirement of a clear providential call, barred the way to acquiescence with Wesley's desire. "Rev. and dear Sir, I hope the Lord, Who has so wonderfully stood by you hitherto, will preserve you to see many of your sheep, and *me* among the rest, enter into rest. Should Providence call you *first*, I shall do my best, by the Lord's assistance, to help *your brother* to gather the wreck, and keep together those who are not absolutely bent upon throwing away the Methodist doctrine or discipline. Every little help will then be necessary, and, I hope, I shall not be backward to throw in my mite.

"In the meantime, you stand sometimes in need of an assistant to serve tables, and occasionally to fill up a gap. Providence visibly appointed me to that office many years ago; and though it has no less evidently called me here, yet I have not been without doubts, especially for some years past, whether it would not be expedient that I should resume my place as your deacon; not with any view of presiding over the Methodists after you (God knows!) but to save you a little in your old age, and be in the way of receiving, and perhaps of doing, more good. I have sometimes considered how shameful it was that no clergyman should join you, to keep in the Church the work which God has enabled you to carry on therein; and, as the little estate I have in my native country is sufficient for my maintenance, I have thought I would, one day or other, offer you and the Methodists my *free* services.

"Nevertheless, I would not leave this place, without a *fuller* persuasion that the time is quite come. Not that God uses me much *now* among my parishioners, but because I have not sufficiently cleared my conscience from the blood of all men, especially with regard to ferreting out the poor, and expostulating with the rich, who make it their business to fly from me. In the meantime, it shall be my employment to beg the Lord to give me light, and make me willing to go anywhere or nowhere, to be anything or nothing."*

Charles Wesley lived fifteen years after John broached the wish that Fletcher should succeed him, and in the light shed upon his character and feeling by John Pawson, we cannot but recognise the hand of God in restraining Fletcher from a course of conduct which would probably have led to jealousy and great disruption. Pawson says, "I was perhaps as well acquainted with the two brothers as any man living. That Mr. Charles Wesley was of a very suspicious temper is certainly true; and that Mr. John Wesley had far more charity, in judg-

* Tyerman's Wesley, 3-149.

ing of persons in general (except the rich and great), than his brother had, is equally true. But that he was so apt to be taken in with appearances is not true. He was well able to form a judgment of particular persons, and was as seldom mistaken as his brother. I once heard him pleasantly say: 'My brother suspects everybody, and he is constantly imposed upon, but I suspect nobody, and I am never imposed upon.' It is well known that Mr. Charles Wesley was much prejudiced in favour of the clergy through the whole course of his life, and that it was nothing but hard necessity which obliged him, in any degree, to continue the lay preachers. He must have been blind indeed not to have seen that God had given to many of them, at least, considerable ministerial gifts, and that He attended their labours with great success; but I am well persuaded, that, could he have found a sufficient number of clergymen to have carried on the work of God, he would soon have disowned all the lay preachers. At a Conference held in Bristol many years ago, about a dozen clergymen attended for the purpose of convincing us that we ought not to preach in any parish that was favoured with a gospel minister. Mr. Charles Wesley took part with them, and said, 'If I was stationed in any particular parish, you should not preach there.' Mr. John Hampson replied, 'I would preach there and never ask your leave, and I should think I had as good a right for doing so as you had.' Mr. Charles answered in great anger, 'You are a grievous wolf: you will tear the flock when my brother and myself are dead, unless God give you repentance.' Mr. Charles was inclined to find out and magnify any supposed fault in the lay preachers; but his brother treated them with respect, and exercised a fatherly care over them. I am persuaded that, from the creation of the world, there never existed a body of men who looked up to any single person with a more profound degree of reverence than the preachers did to Mr. Wesley; and I am bold to say, that never did any man, no, not St. Paul himself, possess so high a degree of power over so large a body of men as was possessed by him. He used his power, however, for the edification of the people, and abused it as little perhaps as any one man ever did. When any difficulty occurred in governing the preachers, it soon vanished. The oldest, the very best, and those of them that had the greatest influence, were ever ready to unite with him, and to assist him to the utmost of their power."*

The preachers appointed to this circuit in 1773, were T. Johnson, R. Costerdine, and E. Slater. Mr. Johnson travelled in the circuit in 1761, and his life is reviewed under that year.

* Tyerman's Wesley, 3-297.

Mr. Costerdine was in the circuit in 1765, and 1766, and 1767, and his life is dealt with under 1765.

E. Slater became an itinerant in 1770, and retired from the work in 1776. In the *Methodist Magazine* for 1857, p. 292, he is spoken of as resident in Upper Settle, and to have acted as coachman to Mr. Wesley. It is however certain that he entered into trade in Manchester, as Mr. Allen Edmondson, a native of Keighley, had business correspondence with him. Letters passing between them show that Mr. Slater retained his religious life, and made sacrifices for the Methodism of his native town. Writing from Manchester, January 21st, 1785, he says:

“Dear Brother,

I take notice of your trials, and say in answer, that looking much at others is not good. Jesus saith, ‘What is that to thee, follow thou me,’ and ‘Look unto me,’ etc. Our end and aim should be to glorify God, even by or in getting money, and if that is not our motive, riches will prove a curse. I will tell you my thoughts before marriage, 1st, to have a woman serious, with a little money, that she might not burden the church where I travelled. 2nd. That if I could ever spare as much money I would build a preaching house in my native town. Since I began business I have saved as much, and a little preaching house is built at Settle. If I live to save more, I wish to lay it out as God directs.”

In the *Magazine* of 1857 we are told that John Guy, a local preacher, and John Read, combined with Slater in this business. The earliest deed, dated May 11th, 1781, conveyed two dwelling houses and a parcel of ground, “*whereon a chapel for divine worship is now erecting*”; to John Guy. On Nov. 7th, 1781, John Guy assigns the property to Edward Slater, and in 1808, on payment of £30, it is secured to the Methodist Connexion with trustees. The £30 was paid to the executors of Edward Slater, who in the deed is styled, gentleman, Manchester.

In April of 1774, Wesley was once more in Yorkshire, preaching at Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, etc. On Monday the 18th he says, “The minister of Heptonstall sent me word that I was welcome to preach in his church. It was with difficulty we got up the steep mountain; and when we were upon it the wind was ready to bear us away. The church was filled, not with curious, but serious hearers. No others would face so furious a storm. At Ewood, in the evening, we had the usual blessing.

Visiting in the interval different places outside the Haworth circuit, among which were Morley, Pudsey, and

Bradford; on Friday the 22nd, he says, "I rode and walked to Bradshaw House, standing alone in a dreary waste. But although it was a cold and stormy day, the people flocked from all quarters. So they did at noon the next day to Clough, two or three miles from Colne, where, though it was cold enough, I was obliged to preach abroad. In the evening I preached to our old, upright, and loving brethren at Keighley.

"Sunday, 24th. It being a cold and stormy day, Haworth church contained the people tolerably well. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, I preached at Bingley and Yeadon, and on Thursday opened the new house at Wakefield. What a change is here, since our friend was afraid to let me preach in his house, lest the mob should pull it down! so I preached in the main street; and there was sown the first seed which has since borne so plenteous a harvest."

The other places in the circuit visited at this time were Otley and Pateley Bridge on Monday and Tuesday, May 2nd and 3rd, and then by Whitehaven, Cockermouth, and Carlisle, Wesley travelled to Scotland.

That Wesley should be able, at seventy-two, to take such long journeys and preach continuously, he accounts for as follows. June 28th, 1774. "This being my birth-day, the first day of my 72nd year, I was considering, 'How is this, that I feel just the same strength that I did thirty years ago? That my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer than they were then? That I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand cause is, the good pleasure of God, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him. The chief means are: 1, My constant rising at four for about fifty years. 2, My generally preaching at five in the morning; one of the most healthy exercises in the world. 3, My never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year.' "

Mrs. Marshall, of Guiseley, in a letter written May 5th, 1774, confirms this statement of Wesley. She says, "We have had dear Mr. Wesley in our neighbourhood a fortnight, but he went off last Wednesday morning for Whitehaven. I think our good old father has never been more lively, more loved, or more followed than at this time of his coming amongst us. He has not failed to preach, in general, three or four times a day, besides riding a good deal. I think I never saw him look better, or more active, or more lively. May the Lord long spare his useful life. He has preached in Halifax church, Huddersfield church, Heptonstall and Haworth churches. I trust he has been a blessing to many in this part,

but to the societies in particular. For my own part I can say it has been a watering time to my soul, though I have not heard him so often as I could have wished, being at present in a bad state of health and unable to follow him as usual."

The numbers in society gradually decreased until 1774, when revivals took place in the neighbourhood of Colne and Otley, under the superintendency of Robert Costerdine, who says, "During the four years I laboured in this circuit the Lord deigned to make me useful both to souls and bodies of the people."*

Useful persons brought into the society during this revival:

John Hey, Lowertown, or Sawood, leader and trustee; Thomas Bartholomew, Charles Bland, John S. Smith, travelling preachers; John Whitaker, Morton Banks, circuit steward.

**Magazine*, 1812.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON July 18th, 1774, John Nelson, the great Yorkshire pioneer, died at Leeds, where he was then stationed. He has been seen in this history preaching, defending Methodism, and suffering for it to the verge of starvation and death. But despite all personal and family privation he stuck to the itinerancy, and in one of his last circuits, York, where in earlier days the streets of the city rang with curses upon him, he extorted a remarkable testimony to the scriptural character of the church he loved and to which he adhered.

At the Assizes in 1771, a woman who had been excluded by Nelson from the Methodist society, was tried for a capital offence. Nelson was summoned as a witness, and on being asked why he expelled the prisoner, produced a copy of the rules of the society, and read the rule which forbids contracting a debt without any probability of paying it. The judge arose, and said, "Good morality, Mr. Nelson," and sitting down again, requested him to read the remainder of the rules. Having heard them to the end, his lordship said emphatically to the court, "Gentlemen, this is true Christianity."

We have a description of Nelson as he appeared five years before his death, as a stout broad-shouldered man, but so much disabled by long service and honourable scars received whilst fighting the battles of the Lord, that suffering under a considerable degree of lameness, he was compelled to lean upon a man's shoulder for support whilst preaching. He was then stationed at Newcastle, and Mr. Lowes, one of the Barnard Castle preachers, whose family resided in Newcastle, exchanged with him for a month.

"As Whitefield said of himself, Nelson had spoken so much for Christ in life, that it was not necessary he should add anything in dying. He died suddenly. Returning to his lodgings in Leeds from the home of one of his brethren, he was seized with sickness, soon became insensible, and, before the sun went down, departed to his eternal rest." He had not completed his 67th year, but he had gone through such hardship for Christ as doubtless shortened the span of life to which his stalwart frame and temperate habits might warrant expectation. Exposure to heat and cold, the barbarous treatment of mobs from whom it is marvellous that he escaped with life,

and whole-hearted care for the churches, rendered him prematurely old.

Good reason had the people of Yorkshire to venerate such a man, and when God suddenly called him to glory, they came out in thousands to follow his remains to their resting place. The streets of Leeds were filled with a weeping multitude. A procession nearly half-a-mile long, singing the triumphal funeral strains of Charles Wesley, wended its way to Birstall, and laid him in the church yard, close under the garden wall of the parsonage where had resided his former persecutor, Mr. Coleby. We have stood by that tombstone, plain and simple, on which the only inscription is the name of the departed and his much suffering wife, who followed her husband to heaven within two months. He needed no prefix to the noble Christian name of John, nor any record of his works carved on stone. He has left an imperishable monument in his autobiography, which is worthy to be placed side by side with "*Bunyan's Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.*"

From the Keighley steward's book, we find that £14 14s. was collected in the circuit toward the debt of the Connexion. On June 30th, 1774, there is a curious entry showing that Wesley was supplied with clothing at times by the circuit. "To Brother Wilkinson for a pair of pumps for Mr. Wesley, 5s.6d." Probably honest John Wilkinson, the first Methodist in the circuit, would regard the position of shoemaker to Wesley as a greater honour than a similar appointment to the King.

At the Conference of 1774, R. Costerdine became superintendent of the Haworth round, with Richard Seed and Robert Swan as his colleagues. Richard Seed was noticed under the year 1770. Robert Swan was a native of North Britain, who laboured as an itinerant preacher twenty-six years. His ministry was blessed to the salvation of many, some of whom became travelling preachers. He was stationed two years in the Haworth round, and in 1775 his colleagues were Messrs. T. Taylor and Samuel Bardsley. Letters written to the latter have been placed in my hands which indicate the piety of the man and shed light upon the working of the circuit.

One of these letters lies before me. Its seal is a crown, encircling a cross, with a band bearing the text, "Be thou faithful unto death." Writing from Keighley, Oct. 22nd, 1775, he says to Samuel Bardsley:

"My Dear Brother,

I wish that grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ his Son, may be with you. I am sorry

to hear of your being so poorly. Damp beds almost kill us, but I hope you have got better by this time; Lord grant it for thy name sake. Brother Taylor informs me that he has given up Burton, and that our Settle friends did not desire us to continue. You will be so good as to give out for me at Preston (Long Preston) or Settle, as our friends and you think best, and at Gisburn on Thursday. My dear, tell our dear friends at Colne to take care what they do; I am afraid of Calvin's seed being sown among them. What I say springs from pure love to them and God's cause. I should be glad of a few lines from Skipton if you have time to let me know how you are. Mr. Taylor is poorly. Excuse my haste, I am just going to Bingley. Bless thee my brother. Give my kind love to Mr. and Mrs. Lindell. I remain your affectionate brother and fellow labourer

ROBERT SWAN."

Another letter to Mr. Bardsley is written from Colne, Dec. 23rd, 1775.

"Saturday night twelve o'clock.

My very dear Brother,

I wish that grace be unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. My dear Sammy, I do not see how I can be at Keighley on the quarter day, as I have to be at Holengate on Tuesday. It is more than thirty miles from it to Keighley, and about as much to Millend back again. Our brother (Mr. Taylor) has not consulted my ease in having it both times when it was my turn to be here. Had it been a week later I should have been glad, but I must bear this cross with the rest. I have been put poorly with a cold; and roads are so bad, and my mare has been lame, and is not sound still. Yet if it should break up between this and Wednesday I should be very thankful if you would stay at Colne till I come on Wednesday. But if I come I will be with you between twelve and one, and then set out for Nath. Sharp's; but if it continues as wet as it is at present I will never attempt. Give my kind love to Mr. and Mrs. Taylor and Betty, and to my wife and Nelly, and all my dear friends who may ask for me. I have left with Thomas Whitaker £4 12s. 8d., with an account where I had it, and though my body may not be with you, I hope my heart and mind will. I do assure you it is not so little a cross to me as some may think. O may the Lord meet with you and bless you and His dear children, Amen. God be with my friend is the sincere prayer of your affectionate tho' unworthy brother in the best of bonds

ROBERT SWAN.

P.S.—If I do not see you, be so kind as to desire my wife to send over the hymn books left to Heptonstall; and take six with you to Jonathan Lupton to Pateley. Write to Brother Ward at Markfield.”

The following letters bear witness to the devotion and the difficulties of these heroic pioneers:—

On February 24th, 1776, Mr. Swan to Mr. Bardsley, care of Mr. Lindon, Dyer, Skipton.

“My very dear Brother,

May grace, mercy, and peace be to you from God the Father, and from his dear Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ. I return my dear friend thanks for his last letter. It gave me great pleasure. I sincerely rejoice in the happiness of your soul, as in that of my own, and I hope God will strengthen you more and more by his grace. This has been a very hard time for us my dear, but in a little they will be all over. I am at present very poorly having almost lost my voice with a hoarseness. It came on Monday last, I think the reason was much speaking. I had preached from Sabbath morning the 11th, to Sabbath morning the 18th, sixteen times, but it has been a great trouble for me to preach since; but my disorder has served to keep the balance of my mind even. I see the goodness of God to me in everything, and therefore ease or pain, life or death, are equally welcome to me, as coming from the same gracious hand. Nature it's true shrinks at suffering, but grace triumphs in resignation. My dear I have just now a few lines from Mr. Taylor, and from what he says I cannot be at Black Burton this time. You will be so kind as not to give out for me at Skipton on Tuesday, but at Long Preston that night, at Gisburn on Wednesday, and let them know that I give tickets and take the quarterly collection. You may give it out for me at Roughlee on Thursday night, and on Friday, if our friends at Colne please, and if I am well, we may have a watch night; and I shall meet their classes when it may best suit them, only I cannot meet above one on Sabbath. And my dear give out at all other places till you begin. Give my kindest love to brother Cane, and his wife and his lovely children as you pass through Preston. Remember me to Roughlee and Colne friends. I intend to take your counsel while at Keighley, yet I think bad consequences will attend the way our friends are taking. But what shall I say; I fear the manner of singing and not the matter is what some of them strive about. I pity poor Heptonstall, what do you think about them? Such a large society and no steward, no one to take care of their little

affairs, and such a prospect of a great work as I have hardly known. I wish you would write to Mr. Taylor about them and try if softer methods will not do better. How do you do about admitting new members? He tells me that they must meet three months first, but I cannot nor will I take his advice. When God gives them desires I will encourage them. I should be very glad of another night with you, but this cannot be yet. But wherever you are may the God of all consolation be your light and shield, and bring you safe to that city which has eternal foundations, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate brother and fellow labourer

ROBERT SWAN.

Give my love to Mr. and Mrs. Lindon. Mr. Samuel Bardsley, c/o Mr. Lindon, Dyer, Skipton."

Mr. Swan, on July 17th, 1776, writes from Colne to Mr. Bardsley, at Robert Sutcliffe's, Heptonstall.

"My very dear Brother,

Grace, mercy, and peace be to you from God the Father, and from His dear Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. I received your welcome letter just as I got into Otley, for which I do return you my most hearty thanks. I remembered your love to all your friends, and they did desire me if I wrote that I would remember their kind love to you. I wrote to Preston and they met me at Grisonton (probably Grassington) and were very loving and were sorry that they had not acted more wisely. I went to see Richard Hardaker when at Fueston; he and his wife were to hear me preach, and were at the love-feast. Thy seemed to reflect on themselves in showing so little mercy to me; indeed it was such as I would not have done to a Turk. But what shall I say when one that I always much esteemed was so kind as to tell them all the flying and unjust slanders that my enemies had falsely raised. But what grieved me the most was that they thought I was more concerned about my leaving this round than all that had happened. But that God before whose awful bar I must shortly stand, knoweth that my folly hath cost me many a night's sleep, and many a tear, and many a groan, whereas the other never cost me one. I am concerned to part with my friends, but I know that it must be, and as to being in this or that round, I have not the least desire; I leave it to God. Only my dear brother if that affair comes into the Conference, which I wish it might not, I hope that both you and brother Taylor will be no enemies unto me, and in return I will love and pray for you both; and dear Sammy let me hear from you and what becomes of me, and I hope you will pray for unworthy me, as I do for you.

Our friends here desire to be remembered to you. Now my dear may the Lord be with you and keep you in the way, and pray for me that I may finish my labours with success. Farewell, believe me,

Your affectionate Brother,
ROBERT SWAN."

During the last fifteen years of Mr. Swan's life, he resided at Alnwick, where his usefulness was much impeded by affliction. As far as his health would permit, he diligently attended the ordinances of religion. Towards the close of his life, his sufferings were great; but he endured them with the patience and resignation of a Christian; and on the 19th of September, 1810, he finished his course with joy.

The preachers appointed to the Haworth circuit at the Conference of 1775 were Thomas Taylor, Robert Swan, and Samuel Bardsley. Thomas Taylor was one of the most useful of Wesley's itinerant preachers, and President of Conference in the years 1796 and 1809. In early life he was wicked, and knew little of Methodism. The spirit of God awakened him through Whitefield in the year 1755, but falling into sin he remained for three years longer the bond-slave of Satan. Then, through the preaching of an Independent minister, and the reading Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted*, he was fully aroused to his danger and need of salvation; and the great change soon followed, which he thus describes:—"One Lord's Day evening, I was retired to my apartment for my usual exercise of reading and prayer. While I was calling upon the Lord, He appeared in a wonderful manner, as with His vesture dipped in blood. I saw Him hanging on the cross, and the sight caused such love to flow into my soul, that I believed that moment, and never since gave up my confidence. I had not then any particular promise applied; but was enabled to cast my soul upon that atoning sacrifice, which I saw was made for my offences. . . .

Oh, the rapturous height
Of that holy delight
Which I found in the life-giving blood;
Of my Saviour possess
I was perfectly blest
As if filled with the fulness of God."

For a time Taylor was united with the Independents, and feeling a strong call to preach, visited certain villages and gathered congregations, not without fruit. He was much prejudiced against the Methodists, but through the

preaching of Thos. Hanby that barrier began to give way, and at length he preached freely among them. At Birstall, in 1761, Taylor had an interview with Wesley, who invited him to attend the Conference to be held in London. To his great surprise, without examination as to his principles, experience, or ability, (Wesley having doubtless satisfied himself on these points by inquiry), he was appointed to Wales, being the only preacher sent into the Principality. There he had experiences of a most trying and dangerous character, which are related in an autobiographical narrative published by him. At the Manchester Conference of 1765, Mr. Taylor was appointed to Glasgow, and on his way to Scotland preached at Keighley. Very trying were his experiences in Scotland, Ireland, and Manchester. How he fared in the last named place I give in his own words. He says, "I hastened to Manchester, leaving my wife and child at Chester, who came after me in the space of a month. A preacher's family was a new thing at Manchester, and the society was then but small. An old man and his wife, and the single preacher, occupied a small house, and they removing, another man and his wife came in their place, so that we had but one room for everything, except the use of the kitchen fire. But though very different to what my wife had been accustomed to, not a murmur of complaint ever saluted my ears." *

Mr. Taylor, we have seen, came to Keighley in 1775. From his journal we get some conception of the domestic arrangements of the assistant, and the state of the circuit. He says, "This circuit was a mere scarecrow on various accounts; so that I entered into it with little less than horror. There was a family in the preaching house which I was obliged to remove. The house was to furnish and put into repair; and I had to beg the money up and down, which is not pleasing work. The circuit was a large rambling range. I was to be but three or four days at Keighley in six weeks; and many of the congregations were very small; all which were completely disagreeable circumstances. However, I entered on my work in the best manner I could. I soon got the house put into good repair, and well furnished; so that my family were comfortably situated. God likewise revived His work in many places, so that between four and five hundred were joined during the year; and the greater part were able to give a reason of the hope that was in them.

"A little before the Conference, having to preach one Sunday evening at Padiham, the house was by far too small for the congregation. It being a fine evening, we chose a con-

**Magazine*, 1812, p. 48, 49.

venient place to preach on out of doors. While I was preaching to a large congregation, the minister came at the head of a mob, in his gown and cassock, and dragged me down. As soon as I could I mounted again, and again was jostled down. I attempted standing up a third time, but to no purpose, so we adjourned to the preaching house.

Perceiving the Bible so much neglected, I preached at Heptonstall from Psalm 119-11, 'Thy word have I hid in my heart that I might not sin against thee.' The people insisted on my printing the sermon. I have reason to hope it has been useful."

CHAPTER XXV.

ON the 17th April, 1776, Wesley paid another visit to the Haworth circuit, preaching at Rochdale, and on the 18th, at Heptonstall and Halifax. On the 24th he was at Otley, the state of the society there giving him much satisfaction. He says, "The word of God has free course, and brings forth much fruit. This is chiefly owing to the spirit of behaviour of those whom God has perfected in love. Their zeal stirs up many; and their steady and uniform conversation has a language almost irresistible."

One of the most notable of these holy persons was Elizabeth Ritchie, the daughter of Mr. John Ritchie, surgeon, a sensible, amiable, well informed man, who came to live in Otley about the middle of the eighteenth century. He feared God, received the message of the gospel with joy, and welcomed its ministers to the hospitalities of his house. Elizabeth Ritchie was born at Otley on Feb. 2nd, 1754. In the year 1770 she was deeply convinced of sin, and after earnest search, was led into the experience of sins forgiven. On June 31st, 1772, Miss Ritchie first met Mr. Wesley, and an acquaintance began which ripened into closest friendship and extensive correspondence. In her diary and letters we got important glimpses of their intercourse, exhibiting the wisdom and Christian fidelity and kindness of Wesley. She says:—"Thursday, July 9th, I accompanied him and Mrs. Wesley in the chaise, and as we walked up the hill he discoursed with me on spiritual subjects. He was humble as a little child.

"I told him how often it had been said to me, 'You are too ardent to hold out long,' and that Satan had made this a subject of temptation. He said, 'I have observed that few who set out in good earnest turn back; but of those who set out coldly, one out of five generally does.'"

In the year 1774 Miss Ritchie says, "On May the 4th I accompanied Mr. Wesley to Birstall. He inquired how the Lord had brought me to Himself. I found great liberty and spoke my mind on that subject without reserve. On the following Sabbath, while pleading with the Lord in prayer to make me holy, He greatly blessed me by a powerful application of that promise, I am thy God. I felt unutterable peace; and the cry of my soul was, 'Let Thy love alone dwell in my

breast!’ I was conscious that a blessed change was effected within me. Such a Sabbath I never knew before. On Monday we were favoured with the presence of the venerable saint, Mr. Wesley, at our house. He engaged in prayer with me, and encouraged me much to go forward, by enlarging on the grace and love of the Redeemer, and on His present readiness to save; warning me, at the same time, to beware of pride. This morning, before four o’clock, he left us.”

Miss Ritchie received at least six letters from Wesley in the year 1774, full of faithful and wise spiritual counsel.

On Sept. 1st he says, “I hope you do not pass any day without spending some time in private exercises. What do you read at those seasons? Do you read, as it were, by chance; or have you a method in your reading? I want you to make the best use that is possible of every means of improvement. Now is the time! Now you have the fervour of youth on your side. Now your faculties are in their vigour. And happy are you who have been able to begin your race betimes!”

On Nov. 29th, 1774, Wesley wrote, “You must not give place, no, not for a day, to inactivity. Nothing is more apt to grow upon the soul: the less you speak or act for God, the less you may. If elder persons do not speak, you are called, like Elihu, to supply their lack of service. Whether you are young or old is not material: speak, and spare not! Redeem the time! Be fervent in spirit! Buy up every opportunity.”

In November, 1775, Miss Ritchie was appointed a class leader. Not long after her appointment to this office she makes the following observations:—“I have been led much to meditate on the perfection of the human character of Christ. My mind has dwelt particularly on His love, His meekness, His humility, His resignation, and all those heavenly dispositions which He manifested here below. My soul aspires to imitate this bright example. I hear that word which says, ‘Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.’ Therefore, in the exercise of faith and hope, I wait for a more full conformity to Him, my living Head. I bless His name, Who has already shown me so much mercy, as to keep me from desiring anything that is not in accordance with His will, and that does not centre in Himself.”

Mr. Wesley, writing on Nov. 29th, 1775, says, “I am glad Mr. Taylor has given you a little more employment, and a glorious employment it is! to be a ‘fellow-worker with God’! O may you be found faithful! Be zealous for God! Be diligent! Be patient!”

On Saturday, April 27th, Wesley preached in the Church

at Bingley, "perhaps not so filled before for these hundred years."

Mr. Taylor, who was present, says that he had never seen Wesley weep while preaching till then. His text was, Acts xxiv. 25. "He spoke awfully, and the congregation heard him attentively." Mr. Taylor continues, "The next day (Sunday) I heard him at Keighley in the morning, and then at Haworth Church. Afterwards the sacrament was administered, but in too great a hurry. Several hundreds communicated in less than an hour."

Wesley says of that service, "The congregation at Haworth was far greater than the church could contain. For the sake of the poor parishioners, few of whom are even awakened to this day, I spoke as strongly as I possibly could upon these words, 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.'"

Mr. Taylor says, "We then dined in haste and confusion, and drove off to Colne. I rode fast, and got thither before Mr. Wesley. The street was filled with people waiting to welcome him; but when about two miles from Colne, his chaise broke down, which somewhat delayed his coming. He mounted a horse, however, and so arrived in safety. The crowd was so great that it was with difficulty we got into the church. The sexton led us to the reading desk, and thereby I got a seat. Mr. Wesley's text was Rev. xx., 12. At the beginning he was rather flat, but at the end he spoke many awful things."

Wesley says, "The church at Colne is, I think, at least twice as large as that at Haworth. But it would not in any wise contain the congregation. I preached on, 'I saw a great white throne coming down from heaven.' Deep attention sat on every face; and, I trust, God gave us His blessing."

"Monday, 29th. About two I preached at Padiham, in a broad street, to a huge congregation. I think the only inattentive persons were, the minister and a kind of gentleman. I saw none inattentive at Clough in the evening. What has God wrought, since Mr. Grimshaw and I were seized here at this place by a furious mob, and kept prisoners for some hours! The sons of him who headed that mob now gladly receive our sayings."

The leader of the mob, on the occasion alluded to, was named Bannister. His grandson, a devoted class leader, was living in my boyhood days, and I knew him as an invalid who delighted to hear consolation and prayer from the lips of my father, when appointed to preach at Thwaites. The great grandsons of the persecutor have long been in the class, the

pulpit, and the school, devoted Methodists, earnestly labouring for the spread of Christ's kingdom in the Skipton, Keighley, Denholme, and Morecambe circuits.

"Tuesday, 30th. In the evening I preached in a kind of square, at Colne, to a multitude of people, all drinking in the word. I scarce ever saw a congregation wherein men, women, and children stood in such a posture. And this is the town wherein, thirty years ago, no Methodist could show his head! The first that preached here was John Jane, who was innocently riding through the town, when the zealous mob pulled him off his horse, and put him in the stocks. He seized the opportunity, and vehemently exhorted them 'to flee from the wrath to come.'"

Miss Ritchie's friendship with Mr. Wesley became increasingly intimate and valuable. With a view to benefit her health (which was at the time extremely delicate), as well as to promote her spiritual advantage, he frequently invited her to accompany him in his journeys through the surrounding country, and on these occasions, introduced her to many valuable friends. Of one of these, Miss Roe (afterwards the wife of the Rev. Jas. Rogers) she says, "I feel towards Miss Roe, what I have seldom felt towards any one. I believe, as dear Mr. Wesley expresses it, we are twin souls."

The only record of these journeys in Wesley's Journal is, "Wednesday, May 1st. I set out early (from Colne), and the next afternoon reached Whitehaven, and my chaise-horses were no worse for travelling near a hundred and ten miles in two days."

On her return from the excursion—the extent of which it is difficult to determine—Miss Ritchie writes, May, 1776, "I have been with Mr. Wesley to the various places he has visited in this country; and have had, while travelling, many valuable opportunities for conversation. I thank God I feel my soul much strengthened, and my bodily health improved; I have enjoyed uninterrupted sunshine."

On August 12th, 1776, Mr. Wesley wrote a letter to Miss Ritchie, which shows how wise he was in counsel and careful to bring all theories to the touchstone of fact. "To talk of 'thinking without ideas,' is stark nonsense. Whatever is presented to your mind is an idea; so that, to be without ideas, is not to think at all. Seeing, feeling, joy, grief, pleasure, pain, are ideas. Therefore, to be without ideas, is to be without either sense or reason. Mr. — certainly does not understand the word; he mistakes it for images. O desire nothing different in nature from love! There is nothing higher in earth or heaven. Whatever he speaks of which seems to be higher, is

either natural or preternatural enthusiasm. Desire none of those extraordinaries. Such a desire might be an inlet to a thousand delusions."

In similar strain Wesley writes again, Sept. 20th, 1776. "Some time since, you certainly were in danger of exchanging the plain religion of the Bible, for the refined one of Mysticism: a danger which few can judge of but those that feel it. This my brother and I did for several years. This scheme, especially as Madam Guion has polished and improved it, gives a delicate satisfaction to whatever of curiosity and self-esteem lies hid in the heart. It was particularly liable to make an impression upon you, as it came recommended by one you had a friendship for, whom you knew to be upright and sincere, and who had both sense and a pleasing address."

The following extracts from T. Taylor's journal show that in going to and from Conference the early preachers embraced opportunities of evangelising which came in their way.

"In July, 1776, I went to the Conference at London, preaching at several places by the way, especially Nottingham, where there is a loving, sensible, judicious people; and at their request I preached in the Market-place to a large attentive audience, all as peaceable as if they had been in the most solemn temple. Surely God has something to do in this town. From London I rode to Bristol, preaching in several places by the way, with some degree of satisfaction, especially at Bath and Bristol; so in like manner from Bristol I preached at several places, as Gloucester, Worcester, Birmingham, Derby, and Sheffield, meeting with loving people and liberty in speaking to them. To God our Saviour be all the glory!"

In 1776 the Conference appointed to the Keighley Circuit, Thomas Taylor and Samuel Smith. Of the latter little information can be gleaned. Myles says that he left the work in 1782, but he is not mentioned in the minutes after 1778, when he was stationed in Gloucestershire. Light is shed upon the silence of the minutes by Atmore's notice (p. 398).

"Samuel Smith was a native of Sheffield, in Yorkshire, and came out to travel in the Methodist Connexion in the year 1767. For several years he was deeply pious and very useful in the work; but at last he began to think of himself more highly than he ought to think: the foot of pride prevailed against him, and he became a very unpleasant companion to his fellow labourers, and unprofitable to the people. In short, he was as salt which had lost its savour: consequently the work became irksome, and his situation uncomfortable to himself. In the year 1779, he therefore desisted from the itinerant life; and there is reason to fear that he was of very little use,

either to the church or to the world, afterwards. I am not in possession of the circumstances of his death, but he is said to have lived in a kind of unsettled state for several years, and departed this life about the year 1797." A case showing that in the early days of Methodism there were occasional serious falls from grace among the itinerant preachers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WE have seen Whitehaven and a number of places in that region detached from the Haworth round, and we now come to the second and more important division effected by Mr. Taylor, who separated from Haworth all the places in Lancashire, and thus formed the Colne circuit. From this year the name of Haworth ceases to appear in the Minutes, and Keighley is the designation of the circuit. Mr. Taylor says, "Returning to Keighley, I divided the circuit into two very compact rounds, making Colne and the societies which surrounded it into a circuit by itself, by which means both the circuits are become very agreeable." Whether they would be thought so in these days of sub-division and ease of transit, may be judged from the list of places comprehended in the two circuits, given under the year 1763. The membership before division in 1776 was 1640.

The extent of the Haworth round at the time when this division took place may be gathered from a list of the places on a plan of the Colne circuit in the year 1786. Though ten years later it may be taken as substantially covering the ground then comprised in that portion of the old round. The plans in those days were written, and simply stated the work that was to be done by each of the preachers. A copy of one of these plans is found in Jessop's *Methodism in Rossendale*. It is divided into six rounds of a week each, and the services to be held and miles travelled are given. The preacher in the six weeks travelled 231 miles and preached 61 sermons. There were then—1786—three preachers in the circuit, and two horses were kept for their use. Wesley allowed no Methodist service to be held during church hours, hence morning would mean service at such an early hour as would admit of attendance at church. Evening service in church was rare. Week-day service at noon, which would be impossible to us, was possible then, as the people being largely hand-loom weavers and combers, or farmers, could leave their work at will.

A PLAN FOR PREACHING IN THE COLNE CIRCUIT IN THE YEAR 1786.*

Days.	Place.	Times.	Ser- vices.	Miles.
1st Sunday...	Colne	Morn, Noon, Nt.	3	—
Monday ...	Stocks		1	6
Tuesday ...	Caxton	Noon	} 2	10
"	Mawen	Night		
Wednesday	Long Preston	Noon	} 2	13
"	Settle	Night		
Thursday ...	Wigglesworth	Noon	} 2	8
"	Newhurst	Night		
Friday ...	Gisburn	Noon	} 2	7
"	Rimmington	Night		
Saturday ...	Padiham			10
	Rest			
2nd Sunday	Padiham	Morn, Noon, Nt.	3	—
Monday ...	"		1	
Tuesday ...	Burnley		1	3
Wednesday	Rough Lee		1	6
Thursday ...	Colne		1	4
Friday ...	Haggat		1	3
Saturday ...	Rothwell End		1	14
3rd Sunday	Todmorden	Morn, Noon, Nt.	3	2
Monday ...	Top o' th' Close		1	14
Tuesday ...	Harwood	Noon	} 2	9
"	Blackburn	Night		
Wednesday	Preston		1	12
Thursday ...	"		1	—
Friday ...	Chorley		1	10
Saturday ...	Bolton Hall	Mr. Clitheroe	1	10
4th Sunday	Bolton Hall	Morn	1	
"	Blackburn	Noon and Nt.	2	5
Monday ...	Ribchester		1	6
Tuesday ...	Blackburn		1	6
Wednesday	Grave	Noon	} 2	8
"	Flaxmoss	Night		
Thursday ...	Bank Top	Noon	} 2	5
"	Mill End	Night		
Friday ...	Syke Side		1	2
Saturday ...	Haslingden		1	1
5th Sunday	Haslingden	Morn	} 3	7
"	Mill End	Noon		
"	Bacup	Night		
Monday ...	"		1	—
Tuesday ...	Wardefold		1	8
Wednesday	Longclough Top	Noon	} 2	8
"	Todmorden	Night		
Thursday ...	Rothwell End		1	2
Friday ...	Luddington		1	6
Saturday ...	Stocks		1	2
6th Sunday	Stocks	Morn	1	
"	Heptonstall	Noon	} 2	2
"	"	Night		
Monday ...	"		1	—
Tuesday ...	Widdup	Noon	} 2	10
"	Southfield	Night		
Wednesday	Fowlrigg		1	4
Thursday ...	Colne		1	2
Friday ...	Barrowford		1	2
Saturday ...	Colne			2

Where only one service is appointed the time is left unfixed.
(Bolton Hall is now Hoghton.)

* Moore's *Burnley*, 72, 73.

Great has been the influence for good of laymen raised up by God to carry on His work in Methodism. Mr. Wm. Sagar, of Southfield, near Colne, was a striking instance of this. He was born in the year 1751. His father, a cloth merchant, had by industry and prudence amassed a considerable fortune. Mr. Sagar, senr., was so fond of the pleasures of the chase as to hunt often all day in company with his son, and then, to redeem time, they both worked hard all night. When Mr. Wm. Sagar began to think about his soul, he was equally earnest in religion, and did not attempt to conceal his principles. At first his father contented himself with expressing dissatisfaction, but when Wm. Sagar openly avowed himself a Methodist, he often returned home to find a locked door, and had to seek shelter anywhere, despite the continued affection of his mother.

His daughter tells us that, "When it was resolved to erect a Methodist preaching-house in Colne, the society being very small in number, and poor in circumstances, two of the most influential and wealthy individuals in the circuit and my father, seeing the necessity of uniting their energies in the work, which was then a mighty undertaking, entered into a solemn agreement to stand true to one another, and never desert the work until it was completed. This resolution was adhered to until the walls of the building were about half way up. Then difficulties from the scarcity of money began to crowd fast upon them. My father had been on one of his regular journeys to Scotland, and having to return home by Colne, he stopped,—no doubt with anxious solicitude—to enquire after the progress of the chapel. He soon learnt the sad tidings that all was at a standstill, that his two friends had treacherously broken their vows, had totally abandoned the work, and left him alone to bear the burden. He was painfully convinced of this by the importunity of workpeople asking him for their wages, which he was unable to pay. It must here be told that my father, not being in partnership at that time with my grandfather (who was then inimical to Methodism) had no command of money. Under these restricted and dependent circumstances it was impossible for him to meet the demands of the builders. He left the town much distressed and perplexed, not knowing what to do. He could see no way of deliverance—every human source seemed to fail. In this state of despondency and grief he mounted the hill homeward. When he had got to the top of the Lanshawe he turned his horse round and looked at the chapel which stood over the valley opposite, until his distress was almost insupportable. His soul was in an agony. Instantly it was

suggested to his mind, Pray! He alighted, and knelt on the ground with his face towards the temple of his God, and cried for help. 'And,' said he, 'if ever I prayed in my life it was at that time.' He did not pray in vain. The Lord heard and answered. He arose from his knees disburdened of his load, and went home with a comfortable assurance that God would help forward His own cause, and make a way where he could see none.

"On the market day following, at Colne, my father had to attend the piece hall to buy stuff goods. Soon after he entered a man tapped him on the shoulder and said, 'Mr. Sagar, don't you want some money for that chapel?' 'Yes, I do,' replied my father. 'I have a certain sum,' answered the man, 'which I will lend you.' 'But,' said my father, 'I cannot give you any security for it, and no one will join me in a bond.' 'No matter for that,' said the man, 'your word is as good as your bond, Mr. Sagar, you shall have it.' Accordingly the generous offer was accepted. On my father advancing a little further, a second man accosted him in the same way, and before he left the hall a third also, offering money to a considerable amount, both making the same reply to my father's first objections. 'Your word is as good as your bond, Mr. Sagar; you shall have it.'

"With this providential and seasonable supply the work was begun again, and proceeded with no particular interruption until the building was ready for the roof; when an equinoctial gale of wind blew down the western gable end into the area, and shook the whole fabric. This disaster rendered it necessary, after repairing the injuries, to erect a house against it in order to strengthen the whole edifice. Their finances were very unequal to this additional expense, which consequently much increased their debt.

"With laudable zeal the pious few engaged in the arduous task struggled on through the winter, and the work progressed until the interior was little more than half finished. Mr. Wesley at that time proceeding through the neighbouring circuits on one of his regular visitations, it was arranged for him to open the chapel. Mr. Thomas Taylor, the superintendent of the circuit at that time (June, 1777) thus describes what followed. He says:—"We had with much difficulty raised a fine large chapel. Being much crowded both above and below, and the galleries not being sufficiently strong, just when Mr. Wesley and I had got into the pulpit, before he began, all of a sudden one of the galleries sank down, and abundance of people had legs, arms, and thighs broken. The confusion, as may easily be imagined, was very great; and

the cries of such as were maimed and such as were frightened were truly piercing. Many false reports were spread concerning this awful adventure. Some said that the whole chapel was in danger, and therefore they dare not come into it. By one means or other the work got a dreadful stun, which I fear it will not recover very soon."

From other accounts, it appears, that the people were so anxious to hear Mr. Wesley that the gallery was crowded, and persons, availing themselves of its unfinished state, sat on the floor with their feet hanging over the front, and by crowding together caused such a concentration of weight that the beams were drawn out of the newly erected walls, and the gallery fell, people being flung into a large heap of slightly slacked lime and well-nigh suffocated.

Returning to the Sagar manuscripts we read:—"The reverse of feeling my dear father experienced on this occasion no language can describe. When speaking of it himself, he said, when he reached the top of the gallery stairs, and saw Mr. Wesley in the pulpit, and the people assembling to worship God in the house which had cost him so much toil and anxiety, his joy was unbounded. From this height of exultation and holy triumph how deep the mournful fall! But the genuine courage of the Christian was manifested. 'Perplexed but not in despair'; 'Cast down, but not destroyed.'"

After describing this painful scene, Mr. Wesley says, "Considering the height of the gallery and weight of the people one would have supposed many lives would have been lost; but I did not hear of one. Does not God give His angels charge over them that fear Him? When the hurry was a little over I went into the adjoining meadow and quietly declared the whole counsel of God."

But although no lives were lost many were seriously injured, and some of them were poor people, at a great distance from home. The expenses arising from the maintenance and medical attendance upon these persons, during their necessary stay at Colne, proved a heavy addition to the debts incurred by this calamitous affair. Mr. Wesley, considering it a peculiarly distressing case, appointed Mr. Mather the following year to the circuit, with permission to beg for it in any part of the Kingdom. And yet, after all the help they could get, the trustees had a heavy burden to bear, and continued discouragement to meet with. The lost confidence of the public was one of the greatest items of trouble.*

Not only did Mr. Sagar procure a chapel for Colne, but to him, in a great measure, was due the preservation of the

*From *Annals of Colne*, by James Carr. 1878.

church from division in the Kilhamite agitation which so soon followed the death of Mr. Wesley. His daughter relates an instance of his wisdom at that time. "Being fully aware of the mischievous tendency of the slanderous publications then widely spread throughout the Connexion, he prudently collected every pamphlet he met with, and safely concealed them until they became harmless, and thereby prevented their circulation in the circuit, which probably kept the demon of discord from amongst the societies."

This good man's rules for private life accord well with his public actions. "Rise at five, if health permit. Spend two hours in meditation and prayer. Call the family together at seven in winter. After prayer, spend until eight in going through workshops and tenter-crofts. Breakfast at eight. From that time till noon in some useful employment, but observe to live in the spirit of prayer and watchfulness; and beware of getting my mind damped with earthly things. Spend three quarters of an hour at noon in reading and prayer. From one till five in some useful employment. Then, if business permit, spend till seven in visiting the sick, following the backsliders, speaking a word of comfort to the mourners. From seven to nine retire. Then bed."

Returning to Mr Taylor's narrative, he says, "After spending my second year at Keighley, among simple and loving people, in 1777 I set out for the Conference at Bristol; taking Manchester in my way, and there I preached in an open place near the Infirmary to a large and well behaved congregation." Mr. Taylor was appointed to Wednesbury, and in that and other circuits gave attention to the study of Greek and Hebrew, being very systematic in the use of time for that and all other ministerial purposes.

Samuel Bardsley, Mr. Taylor's colleague in Keighley, was received on trial at the Bristol Conference of 1768, and during half a century maintained an unblemished character, both as a Christian and as a minister of the gospel. In private, as well as public life, he made it his constant business to copy the example of his Divine Master. His evenness and sweetness of temper were proverbial. He was well acquainted with the grand truths of Christianity, and preached them in easy and familiar language. But the best of all was, that the unction of the Holy One accompanied all his ministrations, and that he was truly a man of God.

Mr. Bardsley, in a letter written soon after the Conference of 1775, gives us a picture of Wesley at that time, and his own feeling as to his appointment to the Haworth circuit. "I never was at a better Conference. The Lord was with us

of a truth. Had you seen us, and our dear, aged father and friend in the midst of us, and beheld the freedom and harmony there were among us, you would have blessed God on our behalf. We seemed determined to live and preach the gospel more than ever. On the Thursday before the Conference began, Mr. Oliver and I had the pleasure of drinking tea and supping with dear Mr. Wesley, at Miss Bosanquet's, where we stopped all night. We were there when he arrived from Ireland, and I need not tell you with what joy and thankfulness we received the man of God, and especially as he appeared with his usual cheerfulness, and as well as we have seen him for some years. I had the pleasure of being with him alone, and desired him not to send me far from home. If he had proposed Worcester to me, I would have gone, but, as he did not, I thought it best to leave it to him where to send me; so he fixed me in this Circuit (Haworth) which I shall love, if I have health, and live near to God."*

Mr. Wesley writes to Mr. Bardsley from Norwich, Nov. 27th, 1775:—

"Dear Sammy,

Whenever you want anything, you should tell me without delay. If Tommy Colbeck will give you two guineas, it may be deducted out of the book money. I am glad you go to Skipton, and hope to see it myself if I live till summer. At present I am better than I was before my fever; only it has stripped off my hair. The more pains you take, the more blessing you will find; especially in preaching full salvation, receivable now, by faith."†

Addressed to Mr. Bardsley at Mr. Gosforth's (Garforth's) at Skipton in Craven, Yorkshire.

We have seen that when the western division of the Haworth round was formed in 1776 into a new circuit, having Colne as its head, Samuel Bardsley was one of the preachers in the round, and with William Brammah was appointed to the wide field of labour thus formed.

Mr. Bardsley continued in the active ministry to the end of his life, a period of fifty years. He died suddenly on the 19th of August, 1818, on his way to Manchester, the circuit to which he was appointed. Accompanied by Mr. Wrigley, they stayed for the night at Delph. After taking tea, Mr. Bardsley expressed a wish to retire to rest. Mr. Wrigley attended him up stairs, but before he reached the top, apparently fatigued, he sat down, and conscious that his last moment had arrived,

*Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii., 208.

†Wesley's *Works*, xii., 486.

he sweetly said, "My dear, I must die," and immediately expired.

In the year 1777, Mr. John Whitley, a local preacher in the circuit, entered the ranks of the itinerant ministry.

Before his conversion he was a man living on his own property at Hawshaw, in Nidderdale. The place was then in a state of moral darkness, without any one to direct the attention of the inhabitants to the important subject of religion. The whole of their time was taken up by the things of this life. It pleased the Lord greatly to cross Mr. Whitley in his undertakings. If he had a fine horse ready for sale, or oxen, or sheep for the market, something was sure to happen to reduce them in value; and this occurred from year to year, till he could no longer keep his estate. He resolved therefore to sell the property, pay every man what he owed, and "leave the place" (to use his godless expression at the time) "in which he had no luck." But where to go he knew not. Nor had he a thought that God was leading him by this rugged path to the way of life eternal. At Otley he made inquiry after a farm, and was told of one to be let at Eldwick Cragg, near Bingley. He went to see it, and took it, though contrary to his judgment at the time, as the land was not good. The house belonging to the farm was not ready for him. He therefore took lodgings with a neighbour for a short time. In this house the Methodists were accustomed to preach the word of life, and it was on one of these occasions, under a sermon by Mr. John Skirrow, that Mr. Whitley and his wife were both awakened, and ultimately became steady and consistent members of the Methodist Society. He became a useful local preacher until 1777, when he was called into the full work of the ministry, in which he continued until 1779, when he retired into private life. When Mr. Wesley urged him to enter the itinerant work he declined, saying, "I have only two sermons, sir, what am I to do?" Mr. Wesley replied, "God, that has enabled you to preach two, can give you ability to preach two thousand."

Mr. Whitley died in London, March 11th, 1813, aged 90.

Returning to Miss Ritchie, of Otley. In the early months of 1777 consumption, which had long been incipient, at length assumed a very serious character. How fully she was prepared to meet what seemed certain death the following extracts will evince:—"May, 1777. All praise to my adorable Redeemer, my soul is filled with love and thankfulness to Him. For some days past I seem to have been taking large steps towards the grave. On Wednesday I set apart several little things to give to my friends after my decease; and, having

ordered my funeral according to my mother's mind, I have now nothing to do but to continue looking to Jesus, until He take my spirit home. The doctors think me in such danger that they say they may use means to alleviate pain, but have no hope of recovery. This news so elevated my spirit with the hope of being shortly with Christ, that for some time I seemed either not to have, or not to feel, so much pain as in general."

During this season of affliction, Mr. Wesley, being in Yorkshire, visited Miss Ritchie several times. Respecting these proofs of friendship she says, "My dear and reverend father has been always to me as the immediate messenger of God, and never more so than at present. His conversation led me to desire a still more close acquaintance with the Triune God. I parted from him under the impression that we should meet shortly in Paradise."*

Wesley had a similar impression, as the following entry in his journal shows:—"May 9th, Friday. I went to Malton, hoping to meet Miss Ritchie there: but instead of her, I found a letter, which informed me that she was on the brink of the grave, but added, 'Surely my Lord will permit me to see you once more in the body.' I would not disappoint the congregation; but as soon as I had done preaching, set out, and about four in the morning came to Otley. I minutely inquired into the circumstances of her illness. She is dropped suddenly into the third stage of a consumption, having one or more ulcers in her lungs, spitting blood, having a continued pain in her breast, and a constant hectic fever, which disables her from either riding on horseback, or bearing the motion of a carriage. Meanwhile, she breathes nothing but praise and love. Short-lived flower, and ripe for a better soil."

On the 28th May Wesley says, "I went to Leeds, and, after preaching in the evening, pushed on to Otley. Here I found E.R. weaker and happier than ever. Her life seemed spun out to the last thread. I spent half an hour with her, to teach her, at once, and learn of her, to die. I then rested two or three hours, and took chaise at two, on Thursday 29th, hoping to reach Whitehaven in the evening, but I could only get to Cockermouth."

After a short visit to the Isle of Man, Wesley, in June, was again in the Keighley circuit. He says, "On Tuesday, June 3rd, landed at Whitehaven. I preached at 5 in the afternoon, and hastening to Cockermouth, found a large congregation waiting in the Castle-yard. Between nine and ten I took chaise, and about 10 on Wednesday, 4th, reached Settle.

*Miss Ritchie's Memoirs, p 71.

In the evening I preached near the Market-place, and all but two or three gentle folks were seriously attentive." Tyerman says this was Wesley's first visit to Settle, and that Methodism had recently been introduced by John Read, a poor clogger, and that one of the first members was Edward Slater, who became Wesley's coachman. His authority is S. Bardsley's Journal. Bardsley travelled in the Keighley and Colne Circuits in 1775 and 1776, and hence would visit Settle and receive information on the spot. Mr. W. Walker, of Settle, informs me, however, that the Methodists first began to preach in Settle in 1760, and the first class meeting was held in 1769. This appears probable, as in 1761 there were 11 members in society at Rathmell, three miles from Settle; nineteen members at Long Preston, four miles distant on the south; and twenty-eight at Black Burton, a village about twelve miles from Settle in the north. This place, rumour says, was called *Black Burton* on account of the sinful character of its inhabitants in former days. They were cock-fighters, &c.

Settle appears in the Haworth circuit book from 1761 to the division in 1775, when Colne circuit was formed. There is an entry to the effect that Settle never contributed any money to the Quarter Board. At the quarterly meeting of April, 1771, ten shillings was paid for the rent of a preaching room there.

On June 5th, 1777, Wesley was again drawn to Otley by the condition of Miss Ritchie. He says, "About noon I came to Otley, and found E. Ritchie just alive—but all alive to God. In the evening it seemed as if the departing saint had dropped her mantle upon the congregation, such an awe was upon them, while I explained and applied, 'They were all filled with the Holy Ghost.'"

Again, on Monday, 9th, he says, "I spent one more hour at Otley. A sight worthy of God Himself! I have not before seen so triumphant an instance of the power of faith. Though in constant pain, she has no complaint: so does the glory of God overshadow her, and swallow up her will in His! She is indeed

All praise, all meekness, and all love."

The Journal of Mr. Thos. Taylor supplies what Mr. Wesley's Journal omits, namely, that at Otley Wesley not only preached, but made a collection for City Road Chapel. Also that he preached (probably on Tuesday, June 11th), in Bingley Church, and at Keighley. After preaching, Wesley stood on one side of the path and Taylor on the other, with their hats in their hands, and collected upwards of £7 for the new chapel in London. Jonathan Edmondson, a native of

Keighley, afterward president of Conference in 1818, heard Wesley preach in Colbeck's Yard, and said, that in begging for the chapel he wished them to give a penny for a brick. The youth ran up home to fetch his penny and gave it. When visiting City Road, accompanied by a gentleman, he touched a brick, saying playfully, that was his.

The preachers appointed to Keighley circuit in 1777 were John Allen and William Brammah.

Mr. John Allen was born at Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, on June 10th, 1737. The death of his mother in 1759, caused him to seek the Lord and to hear the gospel whenever he could, and in spite of bitter family opposition to join the Methodist Society. In 1753, at the Leeds Conference, Mr. Furz, without consulting Mr. Allen, having represented him to Mr. Wesley as fit to undertake the labours of an itinerant preacher, he was appointed to the York circuit. Mr. Allen was greatly surprised, and under a deep sense of unfitness for the office, could not for three years be persuaded to take a circuit. Mr. Allen travelled in some of the most important circuits in the Connexion.

We are told that Mr. Allen felt his soul variously exercised when he entered upon his labours in the Keighley circuit. Notwithstanding his habitual depression of mind, which chiefly arose from a bodily complaint, he felt himself at times greatly encouraged. On Sunday, August 23rd, 1778, he says, "This has been a good day to my soul. I found much liberty in preaching, both in Bingley and Keighley. The welfare of souls was deeply impressed upon my heart; and I thought I could speak till I could speak no longer, if souls might only be converted to God. I am another Sabbath nearer the eternal world, and, I hope, so much nearer eternal glory. I want to live every moment like a dying creature, like one that must soon appear before God in judgment."

After a severe attack of illness he writes, "I see more and more the folly of having all our work to do when we are afflicted, and death is at the door. I had enough to do to bear my pain with patience, and if to it had been added the terrors of a guilty conscience, my distress would have been intolerable. I hope that I shall never forget my late affliction. I would go out to my work as one raised from the dead, to preach and live the gospel with more abundant zeal than ever."

In Keighley Mr. Allen was called to endure the greatest trial of his life. He thus records it:—"Since I wrote last I have had such a trial as I never had before. After ten days' severe illness, my dear wife died; but, blessed be God, in the

full triumph of faith." Mrs. Allen was interred in Keighley Church-yard.

Mr. Brammah, Mr. Allen's colleague, was a plain, honest man, of deep piety and great zeal. His preaching talents were very slender, but he had many souls to his ministry. Mr. Wesley used to say respecting him, "that he had but one talent, that of directing sinners to Jesus—now." It was a proverbial expression, "Hear Mr. Brammah once, and you hear all he has got to say, let his text be what it may." His wife, Alice, was also very zealous and useful in conducting prayer meetings.*

Mr. Wesley says concerning him, February 6th, 1777, "I preached at Bradford, where a blessed work has increased ever since Wm. Brammah was here. 'Hath not God chosen the foolish things of the earth to confound the wise.'"

From the following entry in the circuit book, under date of October 9th, 1777, I gather that Mr. Brammah lived at Otley. "Given to Otley toward paying for Mr. Brammah's furniture."

Wm. Brammah's first appointment, in 1763, was at Redruth, in Cornwall, to which place he journeyed, leaving his wife in Sheffield. After the lapse of several months, Alice Brammah sold part of her household goods to enable her to proceed to Cornwall to see her husband. Mrs. Holy, a saintly lady in Sheffield, afraid she would scarcely have sufficient for her journey, lent her some money, telling her that if she should not be able to repay it, she might preserve her mind perfectly at rest, as it would never be required under any other circumstances than those of ability. This good, but eccentric woman, left Sheffield for Redruth on foot, and walked the whole way, a distance of more than 300 miles. When she was within a few stages of the destined place, she met an ill-looking man, who solicited alms. Supposing him possessed of a wicked design on either life or her property, she gave him a half-crown, the whole of the money she had left after the expenses of the road. Proceeding on her way, she saw nothing more of the man, but before she had gone far she found a half-crown lying on the road, which took her to the end of her journey, rejoicing in the kind providence of God. On her arrival at Redruth, she enquired for the Methodists, and was directed to their place of worship, where she found her husband engaged in a prayer-meeting with the friends. Being pretty loud in her responses, her husband, when he heard them, lifted up his eyes in astonishment, not having had the slightest intimation of her visit, and was apprehensive that it

*Steele's *Barnard Castle*, 82.

was her apparition. They met when the benediction had been pronounced, but, alas! there was no home to which to take her, no provision having been made for a wife. This lack was soon supplied. Anxious to be useful, she went from house to house, as she had been wont to do in Sheffield, gathering in backsliders, visiting the sick, and praying with the people in general. Such was the attachment the friends entertained towards her, that a house was provided, several persons uniting and supplying what they could spare of their own different articles of furniture. The whole county of Cornwall was at that time one circuit; but on Mr. Rankin's arrival there, the preachers were obliged to divide it into two, three preachers supplying the west, and three the eastern part.

The difficulty of maintaining married preachers became so great that Wesley determined to take no more, as the following letter of October 31st, 1778, to Mr. Christopher Hopper, explains:—"At the last Conference we determined to receive no more married preachers. For what reason? For an exceeding plain one,—because we cannot keep them. I cannot: If *you* can, *you* may. But the people cannot, or will not, keep any more."

The Keighley chapel was again enlarged in 1777. It occupied part of the site of the present Temple Street chapel. Within its walls I received some of the first rudiments of education at the hands of Mr. John Gardiner, a former headmaster of Woodhouse Grove School. Its external appearance is correctly represented in a woodcut, impressions of which still exist. Internally it was very much like Sun Street chapel when it came into the hands of the Wesleyan Methodists. The gallery had seats and open backs, and the ground floor was filled with benches. After the erection of Eden chapel, in 1810, this chapel was used as a Sunday school; and in 1825 vestries were added at the north end, which, with the room above, were appropriated to the use of the infant school and first Wesleyan day school.

The pulpit from which the Wesleys, Grimshaw, and early preachers proclaimed the gospel message, remained in Colbeck's chapel until it was pulled down for the erection of Temple Street chapel, in 1845. At that time it was removed to one of the rooms beneath the old Mechanics' Institute, in North Street, and eventually, when the first chapel at Eastwood was built, a portion of it became the reading desk of the infants' school, and is serving the same purpose in the new premises.

An old pulpit notice, without date, in the handwriting of Mr. James Oddie, one of the first race of Methodist preachers,

who had ceased itinerating and settled in Keighley, reads thus :
 " I am desired to inform you that the time is now approaching for receiving your tickets for seats in the gallery. John Laycock and Wm. Smith—the present stewards—will attend here for that purpose, half an hour before preaching and the same time after, on Thursday evening. In the days between this and that, or afterwards, you may apply at John Laycock's house. If it was needful to say anything to induce you who have not, to take seats in the gallery, it would only be to inform you of the *use* the money arising from the seats is put to, and the *need* there is of it. Some years ago it was found necessary to enlarge the galleries, as well as the house, to accommodate a larger congregation. But this could not be done without expense, and there was nothing in hand to do this with. Rather than that all who were willing to hear should not be furnished with room, one and another, to the number of nine or ten persons, offered to lend twenty pounds each, and receive it as it should arise from the seats. This doubtless was a generous action in them. You have it in your power to requite their generosity, and at the same time provide for yourselves a comfortable seat, while you hear that which may be of eternal benefit to you. No motive can be more powerful than this to one who wishes to save his soul, and love his brother as himself. But I need not urge this matter further; you will be ready to this good work of your own accord."

The following were the persons who lent sums of money on interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. :—

Thos. Edmondson	...	...	20	0	0
Wm. Smith, Tailor...	...	...	10	0	0
James Greenwood	...	...	20	0	0
Wm. Wilkinson	...	...	10	0	0
John Laycock	...	...	20	0	0
Ann Illingworth	...	...	20	0	0
Thos. Colbeck	...	...	20	0	0
Joshua Cawood	...	...	10	0	0
John Greenwood	...	...	70	0	0

£200 0 0

On October 8th, 1779, a new trust was formed, and Mr. Colbeck sold to them for 10/- the remainder of the property he had bought in Temple Street, at a cost of £147. On Nov. 5th of the same year, this holy man, to whom the Methodism of the past Keighley circuit owed so much, died in his 51st year. Of the first trustees, James Greenwood, who had removed to Keighley, and John Laycock alone sign the deed.

The new trustees were John Greenwood, of Keighley, stuff maker; Wm. Wilkinson, of Keighley, cordwainer; Wm. Illingworth, of Keighley, shopkeeper; Saml. Whitaker, of Keighley, mason; Joseph Waterhouse, of Keighley, weaver; Joshua Cawood, of Keighley, nail maker; John Whitaker, of Morton Banks, stuff maker; Thomas Edmondson, of Keighley, bread baker; and Isaac Wilkinson, of Morton Banks, stuff maker.

On part of this land a minister's house was built. In the days of my boyhood it was the residence of the superintendent of the circuit, and had a pleasant outlook into gardens and a nursery, where Russell Street now is. It was separated from the first chapel by a yard and narrow strip of garden, and so quiet was the place, that I remember finding a robin's nest in the ivy-clad garden wall.

John Greenwood also lent toward the purchase of an organ £20. This is a fact worthy of note, as it is generally understood that no Wesleyan chapel contained an organ in Mr. Wesley's life time. Mention, however, of payments in connection with this organ is made several times in 1780 and 1781.

This was undoubtedly one of the earliest organs placed in a Methodist chapel. After Temple Street chapel was built it was placed in the Sunday school, and when superseded by the present instrument in our assembly room, was sold to the Baptists of Cononley.

We find Wesley again in the Keighley circuit on Saturday, August 1st, 1778. The preceding days he appears to have spent at Bradford and Halifax, probably also at Otley, in the home of the Ritchies. In the Journal we have an interesting notice of the mansion and grounds of a family well known in the Aire Valley.

"Saturday, August 1st. I was desired to take a view of Mr. Bustfield's improvements near Bingley. His house stands on the top of a hill clothed with wood, and opposite to another which is covered with tall oaks. Between the hills runs the river. On the top, at the bottom, through the midst, and along the side of the woods, he has made partly straight, partly serpentine walks, some of which command a lovely prospect. He is continually making new improvements: but will not that thought frequently intrude, 'Must I then leave thee, paradise? Then leave these happy shades and mansions fit for gods?' " Wesley was keenly alive to the beauties of hill and dale which met his gaze in Yorkshire. Factories had not then defiled our rivers, or thrown their clouds of smoke over our dales. Small, quaint towns were met with at long intervals, while substantial houses of the Stuart period

sheltered the families of farmers, whose ancestry went as far back as that of their landlords, some of whom lived in stately houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The house alluded to was Myrtle Grove, the home of Johnson Atkinson Busfield, Esq. It had been a large farm house, known as Spring Head, and in the hands of Mr. Busfield underwent a thorough transformation, and became one of the most beautifully situated mansions in the district.

Mr. Busfield would probably hear Wesley preach in Bingley Church in 1776, and evidently became a sincere admirer of the great evangelist. He was a kind-hearted, gentlemanly man. It is related that one Sunday morning, while at church, the congregation was greatly alarmed by an earthquake which shook the building, when Mr. Benjamin Ferrand said to Mr. Busfield, "We had nearly all gone down together this morning." Mrs. Busfield, who was leaning on the arm of her husband, replied, "I hope not; the rich and poor would surely not have gone to the same place." "No, my dear," said Mr. Busfield, "I'm afraid the rich would have but little chance of that."

On one occasion, when the Methodists were having a great revival, and in their prayer meetings were more noisy than usual, a gentleman who lived near the chapel was much annoyed and alarmed at their proceedings, and hastened up to Myrtle Grove to ask Mr. Busfield to interfere. Mr. Busfield went down, walked through the preacher's house into the chapel, and, perceiving how matters stood, said, "Go on, go on, you cannot do better."

The following entries occur in the circuit book during the year 1778:—

Jany. 1st, Mr. Allen, dinners, 14/4½

Mar. 27th, Do., &c. 18/8

Probably these were charges for quarterly meeting dinners.

Jan. 1st A shilling paid at quarter day that was not good.

Bad Copper 7½d.

From this it is evident that petty meanness was not absent from early Methodist assemblies.

Candles used in house for last quarter, 6s. 6d.

Mar. 27th. 6 Tea Spoons, 19s.

Oct. 8th. Mrs. Banks laid out for Mrs. Brammah's furniture £4 10s. 8d.

A year earlier, on Oct. 9th, 1777, we have an entry, "Given to Otley towards paying for Mrs. Brammah's furniture, £5 5s."

Dec. 31st. In part of Mr. Allen's Bags, 12s.

Probably saddle bags, a general item of preachers' outfit.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ON July 2nd, 1778, there is an entry in the circuit book, "Mr. Wesley, &c., £2 5s." As Mr. Wesley did not that year come into the circuit until August 1st, I think this must have been to cover expenses incurred in 1777, when he twice visited Otley, and probably preached at Bingley and Keighley on Tuesday, June 10th, a day unrecorded in the Journal.

At the Conference of 1778 John Allen was again appointed to the Keighley circuit with George Hudson as his colleague.

Hudson was a native of Keighley, and commenced to itinerate in 1761. Jonathan Edmondson says of him, "He was well known to me when I was very young. His zeal in the cause of God was very great, and his labours were remarkably successful. After many years of labour in the vineyard of our Lord, he fell into sin, disgraced himself, and brought reproach upon the cause of God, for which he was justly expelled from the Methodist Connexion. But he confessed his sin, and, professing to have found peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, again began to preach wherever he had an opening. I have been informed, that after many years, he was received as a regular local preacher in the Otley circuit; that he continued to preach as long as he was able, and that there was hope in his death."

Wesley was justly severe on defections from morality, and after giving five names in 1780 under the question, "Who desist from travelling?" among which is that of George Hudson, he says, "As we admit no one as a travelling preacher unless we judge him to have grace, gifts, and fruit; so we cannot retain any one as such any longer than he retains those qualifications."

The record of the Conference of 1778 shows the searching care exercised by Wesley over the physical as well as spiritual well-being of his preachers.

The question is asked, "Why do so many of our preachers fall into nervous disorders? Answer: Because they do not sufficiently observe Dr. Cadogan's rules: To avoid Indolence and Intemperance. They do indeed use exercise. But many of them do not use enough; nor near so much as they did before they were preachers. And sometimes they sit still a whole day. This can never consist with health. They are not

intemperate in the vulgar sense: they are neither drunkards nor gluttons. But they take more food than Nature requires, particularly in the evening.

Q. What advice would you give to those that are nervous?

A. Advice is made for them that will take it. But who are they? One in ten or twenty?

Then I advise— 1st: Touch no dram, tea, tobacco, or snuff; 2: Eat very light, if any, supper; 3: Breakfast on nettle or orange-peel tea; 4: Lie down before ten—rise before six; 5: Every day use as much exercise as you can bear; or 6: Murder yourself by inches."

During his Northern journey in 1779, Wesley preached on the morning of April 18th in Haworth church. "In the afternoon," he says, "I could not. Thousands upon thousands were gathered together, so that I was obliged to stand in the church-yard. And I believe that all that stood still were able to hear distinctly."

On Monday, 19th, he preached in Bingley church to a numerous congregation. Wesley says, "I dined with Mr. Busfield in his little paradise; but it can give no happiness unless God is there. Thence I went to Otley. Here also the work of God increases; particularly with regard to sanctification. And I think everyone who has experienced it retains a clear witness of what God has wrought."

On July 1st, 1779, there is this entry in the circuit book: Mr. Booth, chaise hire, &c., 18s. 8d., which was probably a payment to J. Booth, landlord of the White Bear, for a chaise to convey Mr. Wesley from Haworth to Bingley on the occasion of his visit to the two places in April of that year.

In 1779 the preachers appointed to the circuit were James Hindmarsh and George Hudson.

We can gather nothing concerning Mr. Hindmarsh, save that he became an itinerant in 1771, and desisted from travelling in 1783, and became a Swedenborgian. The Conference this year carefully enquired into the decrease in membership, and the answer given was: "It may be owing partly to want of preaching abroad, and to trying new places; partly to prejudice against the King, and speaking evil of dignities; but chiefly to the increase of worldly mindedness and conformity to the world. How can we stop this evil speaking?"

A. Suffer none that speak evil of those in authority, or that prophesy evil to the nation to preach with us. Let every assistant take care of this."

On Wednesday, May 19th, 1780, Wesley was in the Keighley circuit. He says, "I went to Otley, but Mr. Ritchie

was dead before I came. But he had first witnessed a good confession. On telling him, 'You will be better soon,' he replied, 'I cannot be better, for I have God in my heart. I am happy, happy, happy in His love.'"

Mr. Wilson, the vicar, after a little hesitation, consented that I should preach his funeral sermon; this I did to-day. The text he had chosen was, 'To you that believe He is precious.' Perhaps such a congregation had hardly been in Otley church before. Surely the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass!"

Keighley is not mentioned by Wesley, but he certainly must have been in the town, and probably preached on one of the days between Wednesday and Sunday, as in the circuit book there is on July 10th, the entry, "Mr. Wesley's expenses, £3 11s. 10d." Another entry is, "Four new tins for love feast cakes, 6s." This was probably a kind of seed bread, which continued to be supplied at love feasts in the early years of the writer of this history.

Wesley goes on to say, Sunday, 23rd, "Mr. Richardson being unwilling that I should preach any more in Haworth church, Providence opened another: I preached in Bingley church both morning and afternoon. This is considerably larger than the other. It rained hard in the morning; this hindered many, so that those who did come got in pretty well in the forenoon, but in the afternoon many were obliged to go away."

The Vicar of Bingley, who opened his pulpit to Wesley, despite the reproach so largely attaching to Methodism in that early part of its history, was the Rev. Richard Hartley, who held the living forty-eight years, from 1741 to 1789.

It is due to the memory of Mr. Richardson to insert a letter which shows that personally he had no wish to exclude Wesley from the pulpit of Haworth church. Writing to Mr. Sagar, of Colne, on April 18th, 1786, he says:—

"Dear Sir,

Mr. Cross, the Vicar of Bradford, was at my house yesterday, and informed me that Mr. Wesley was expected to be at Southfield to-day; therefore I write to you to beg the favour that you will present my Christian and humble respects to him and acquaint him that I shall be very glad to have my pulpit honoured with him the next Sabbath day. I learned from Mr. Cross that Mr. Wesley had offered him his services then; and for some particular reasons Mr. Cross chooses to decline the acceptance of his kindness (of which Mr. Wesley will be informed by letter from Mr. Cross to-morrow), I flatter myself

Mr. Wesley will be disengaged for that day. I highly esteem and venerate that great and good old man; and I assure you that the disagreeable interruption of our friendly intercourse was not in the least measure owing to me. I would cordially cultivate love and peace with all men, especially those who fear God. My kind respects to Mrs. Sagar. I shall be glad to see you both at the time mentioned to dine with me along with Mr. Wesley, if I be so happy as to be successful in my application.

I am, dear sir, with much esteem,

Your Friend and Servant,

JOHN RICHARDSON."

Wesley accepted the invitation, for he preached in Haworth church on Sunday, April 23rd, 1786.*

From Keighley, Wesley passed into the Yorkshire portion of the Colne circuit, but returned on Monday, May 1st. He says, "We reached Grassington about ten. The multitude of people constrained me to preach abroad. It was fair all the time I was preaching; but afterwards rained much. At Pateley Bridge, the vicar offered me the use of his church. Though it was more than twice as large as our preaching-house, it was not near large enough to contain the congregation. How vast is the increase of the work of God! Particularly in the most rugged and uncultivated places! How does He 'send the springs' of grace also 'into the valleys that run among the hills!'"

The preachers appointed to Keighley in 1780 were Samuel Bradburn and Wm. Simpson. The latter, however, did not come to the circuit, John Oliver appearing in the circuit book as second preacher, payments being made to him during the year. Also a letter of Mr. Wesley's to Chriss. Hopper, then travelling in the Colne circuit, shows that Oliver was in the Keighley circuit, and was held responsible for filling the appointments.

"Whittlebury, Oct. 25th, 1780.

My dear Brother,

It was a shame that Keighley circuit should be without preaching, while there are so many local preachers all round it. Was John Oliver asleep, that he did not apply to the neighbouring assistants for help?"

Oliver was a shareholder in a ship along with T. Hanby and James Oddie, and is frequently named in correspondence between them. They did not seem to have more patience with

*Moore's *Burnley*, 36.

his complaints that Wesley, in a letter written to Bradburn, June 16th, 1781.

"Dear Sammy,

We have no supernumerary preachers except John Furz, who is so from old age. If John Oliver lives till the Conference, and desires it, I suppose he may be upon the same footing. The more exercise he uses, winter and summer, the more health he will have. I can face the north wind at seventy-seven better than I could at seven-and-twenty. But if you *moan over him* you will kill him outright. A word in your ear. I am but half pleased with Christopher Hopper's proceedings. I do not admire *fair weather preachers*. You must stop local preachers who are loaded with debt. There are few healthier places in England than Keighley. Neither Dublin nor Cork is to compare with it. But have a care! or you will kill Betsy! Do not constrain God to take her away!

I am, dear Sammy, your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY.*

John Oliver travelled in the Haworth round in 1760, under which year his early life is noticed. Myles says that he was expelled from the itinerancy in 1784.

Of Samuel Bradburn much more is known, as he attained the highest positions in Methodism, and was one of its most eloquent preachers. He was one among the early preachers who had to educate and train themselves. Bradburn was the son of a soldier, who had a large family. While stationed at Gibraltar, his mother sent him for a fortnight to a penny school. The fee being raised to 1½d. per week she could not afford it, and thus all the education he received cost 2d.

Before being accepted on trial for the itinerant ministry, he was called to labour in Bolton by Wesley. He had told George Eskrick, a leading Methodist of that town, that he would send them a good preacher. When this youth appeared Eskrick said to Wm. Grime, one of the leaders, "Mr. Wesley said he would send a good preacher, and he has only sent us a lad; we shall be ruined." Eskrick was so annoyed as to make no preparation for him in the preachers' room, and Bradburn was doomed to sleep among the looms with the apprentices for one night. Next day they went to chapel. When Bradburn's first prayer was over, George Eskrick tapped Grime on the shoulder, and said, "I think the lad will do." When the sermon concluded George was quite enraptured, and at the close of the service ordered the family to get

*Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii., 355.

the preachers' room ready. Bradburn was so poorly clothed that they entered into a subscription for him.

Wm. Grime met a select band on Sunday morning at four o'clock. When they were without a preacher George Eskrick would go to Manchester and bring back a supply about eight o'clock, often a local preacher named Wm. Clayton.

George Eskrick was at the Leeds Conference of 1793. On his return he left Leeds at seven in the morning to walk home, a distance of between forty and fifty miles. He used to walk to Chester in his clogs to see the widow of Mr. Eels, whom he married.

Two letters written by Wesley and Mr. Bradburn have reference to Keighley, and to Miss Ritchie, whose friendship the Lord's servant so highly valued.

Bradburn was about to remove from Cork to Keighley, and Wesley wrote from

"Near Bristol, Sept. 16th, 1780.

Dear Sammy,

I wanted to have Betsy (Mrs. Bradburn) a little nearer me. And I wanted her to be acquainted with her twin soul, Miss Ritchie, the fellow to whom I scarce know in England. But I do not like your crossing the sea till your children are a little stronger. If there was stormy weather it might endanger their lives. Therefore it is better you should stay in Ireland a little longer. Athlone circuit will suit you well; and John Bredin may be in Keighley in your place."

Before Wesley's letter of September 16th was written Bradburn had left Cork. On August 30th he was on his way to Dublin with his wife and family, and his experience illustrates the trials of early Methodist preachers.

September 30th, being still in Dublin, he writes—"The way of Providence is very dark. My youngest child ill—my money nearly all gone; those who were once my warmest friends seem scarcely to know me; and the preachers far from being brotherly. O, my constant friend! my God and Saviour, in simple faith, I cast myself and burden upon Thee!

"October. From 6th till the 12th, waiting in wretched anxiety for a ship; being determined to go to my appointment if possible. Heavenly Father, my trust is in Thee. O support my darling wife, and make our way plain before us!"

"Liverpool, October 13th. On sea twenty-four hours. Thanks be to God for being brought safe to England!"

The wearisome journey from Cork to Keighley was at last accomplished; and though in many respects Bradburn was better off than he expected to be, "particularly as to house,

furniture, &c.," he complains that the places are very distant from one another; the country is mountainous, dirty, and cold; the manners of the people are very rough; but what is most distressing, one of the last year's preachers has, by his misconduct, brought a great reproach upon the cause and upon his brethren.

When Wesley heard of Bradburn's trying experiences on the journey from Cork to Keighley, he wrote the following fatherly letter to him.

"London, Oct. 28th, 1780.

Dear Sammy,

I am glad you are safe landed at Keighley, and you will there find

‘A port of ease
From the rough rage of stormy seas.’

There are many amiable and gracious souls in Cork, but there are few in the whole Kingdom of Ireland to be named (either for depth of sense or grace) with very many persons in Yorkshire, particularly the West Riding. Go to Betsy Ritchie, of Otley, and then point me out such a young woman as her in Ireland. Now be exact in every branch of discipline, and you will soon find what a people you are among. I am, with tender love to Betsy,

Dear Sammy,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

During Bradburn's year of ministry in Keighley, he lost a child, and his wife's health was in great peril. He thus writes of these trials: Eldwick, June 20th, "The beginning of this month was a time of great inward exercise. I was very poorly in body, occasioned by trouble of mind on account of my child's illness and death. I feared for my precious wife, lest she should be thrown back. But, blessed be the God of all grace, everything is now right. Thou, O my God! didst accept the least sacrifice, Thou hast taken the child and spared the mother. O that we may live to Thee, as we have been enabled to live most of this well-employed month. And do Thou accept my thankful heart, and seal it thine, for Christ's sake. Fifty-five sermons.

"Keighley, July 31st. O Lord, assist me to realise death, that I may see the true end of life, and be every moment enabled to begin again to work out my own salvation."

Bradburn gives us some interesting information concerning Mr. Wesley's source of income, and benevolent use of it.

As he travelled with Wesley on several of his journeys, his knowledge is reliable. He says, "I had an opportunity of knowing how his accounts stood; and I know that he gave away within the year from the Bristol Conference, 1781, in private charities, above fourteen hundred pounds! I do not mention that year as if he never did the like before or since, but because I know he did it then. He told me in London, in the year 1787, that he never gave away out of his own pocket less than a thousand pounds a year. To enable him to do this he had, first, the profits of the books which the preachers sold (except ten per cent., which some of them took for about eighteen years past). This proves (let him have died worth what he may) that all he had in strict justice belonged to the body of the preachers. These kept themselves low to put it into his power to be thus liberal, because they loved him; but for them he could not have done it. He had, secondly, from London and Bristol on an average about £150 per annum by private subscriptions. Thirdly, the society in London gave him £30 a year, which was all the fixed stipend he had. Fourthly, every year almost there were legacies left him. Fifthly, as he went his journeys, the friends in each large society where he preached generally gave him a few pounds when he was going away. His manner of bestowing his charity was truly pleasing; he never relieved poor people in the street, but he either took off or moved his hat to them when they thanked him. And in private he took care not to hurt the most refined feelings of those he assisted."

Bradburn was one of the most eloquent Methodist preachers of his day, and was honoured by being elected to the presidency of the Conference in the year 1799, and also held the important post of secretary to the Conference during several years.

The Rev. Richard Watson, when a young man, walked twenty miles to hear Mr. Bradburn preach, and said of the sermon—"I am not a very excitable subject; but Mr. Bradburn's preaching affected my whole frame. I felt the thrill to the very extremity of my fingers, and my hair actually seemed to stand on end."

Dr. Bunting, when a probationer for the ministry in the Oldham circuit, was in the habit of walking into Manchester and back again, fourteen miles, on the Saturday evening, for the purpose of listening to Bradburn's week-night sermons; and it is stated that no other preacher, except Benson, created a stronger impression upon young Bunting's mind.

Dr. Adam Clarke who laboured with Bradburn in the Manchester circuit, being asked for a description of his eloquence replied: "I have never heard his equal; I can furnish you with

no adequate idea of his power as an orator ; we have not a man among us that will support anything like a comparison with him. Another Bradburn must be created, and you must hear him for yourself before you can receive a satisfactory answer to your inquiries." "Put them all together," said he, referring to several popular men, "he was not like any of them ; they would not, all of them, make such a man. He was like no man. I never knew one with so great a command of language."

In a letter written August 10th 1780, to Dr. Louth, Bishop of London, Wesley shows how clearly he saw through the hollowness of the then prevailing tests of fitness for the ministry. His words deserve consideration in every period of church history, and by every section of the visible church. "Give me leave, my lord, to speak more freely still : perhaps it is the last time I shall trouble your lordship. I know your lordship's abilities and extensive learning ; I believe, what is far more, that your lordship fears God. I have heard that your lordship is unfashionably diligent in examining the candidates for holy order ; yea, that your lordship is generally at the pains of examining them *yourself*. Examining them ! in what respects ? Why whether they understand a little Latin or Greek ; and can answer a few trite questions in the science of divinity ! Alas, how little does this avail ! Does your lordship examine, whether they serve *Christ* or *Belial* ?—Whether they love God or the world ?—Whether they ever had any serious thoughts about heaven or hell ?—Whether they have any real desire to save their own souls, or the souls of others ? If not, what have they to do with holy orders ? And what will become of the souls committed to their care ?

"My lord, I do by no means despise learning : I know the value of it too well. But what is this, particularly in a Christian Minister, compared to piety ? What is it in a man that has no religion ? 'As a jewel in a swine's snout.' "

CHAPTER XXVIII.

UNDER the year 1781, we have in the circuit book in the handwriting of Mr. S. Bradburn, the first definite list of local preachers extant, namely: Samuel Whitaker, Keighley; John Wilkinson, Keighley; Edward Woodyard, Ingrow; James Sugden, Holme House; Joseph Waterhouse, Aiden; Francis Whitley, Eldwick; John Ritchie, Otley; Joshua Dawson, Otley; David Oliver, Otley; Thos. Hodgson, Otley; Wm. Dibb, Asquith; Jonas Chowler, Longscales; Wm. Rayner, Lofthouse; Jonathan Lupton, Pateley; John Buck, Pateley; Geo. Prior, Beamsley; John Catlow, Scar Top.

The men whose names figure on the first list of local preachers, by their incessant self-denying service made deep and lasting impressions upon the people to whom they carried the Bread of Life. Few and brief are the traces respecting them in local Methodist history, but their names are known in heaven, and successive generations reap the fruit of their seed-sowing.

Happily there are records existing concerning some of them, which enable us to realise their life and labours in the great circuit they laboriously traversed. Of others, we unfortunately possess nothing beyond the name upon the plan, or in the lists of membership.*

The third name in the list is Edward Woodyard, who lived at Bracken Bank, and worked all his life for Mr. Emmott, a paper maker. The society in the district of Ingrow and New Road Side originated in a class commenced at Ingrow by Mr. John Laycock, a stuff manufacturer, living at Upper Green, Keighley, at the end of 1764. In February, 1766, it was a large and influential class. The first list of members is for the year 1777:—

John Laycock (leader), Robert Sugden, Richard Newton, Thomas Newton, Peggy Newton, Mary Newton, James Ramsden, Ann Ramsden, Edward Woodyard, William Holmes, William Wright, James Jackson, Sarah Ramsden, Alice Moon, John Ramsden, Edward Craven, John Hodgson, Ellen Jackson, James Ramsden, and Sally Feather.

On the death of Mr. Laycock in 1782 Edward Woodyard

* Samuel Whitaker has received notice, page 165; and John Wilkinson at page 19.

was appointed leader, and the class was held in his house, at Bracken Bank. He afterwards removed to Ingrow, near the paper mill, the class being held there.

Once when Mr. Emmott's men were having a treat, some of them took too much beer, and when Mr. Emmott joined them, complained because Woodyard absented himself. This caused Mr. Emmott to say, "Neddy Woodyard is the best man that ever came about these premises."

He was also a diligent local preacher. On a manuscript plan for 1788 he has twenty-one appointments, chiefly at the principal places in the circuit. In October, 1782, he is paid 4s. "For preaching at different times for Mr. Hunter when poorly."

John Smith, who afterwards became an itinerant preacher, was convinced of sin under Edward Woodyard's ministry. He sent him a walking stick from the Isle of Man, and several times a guinea, as tokens of his esteem.

The fourth name on the list is James Sugden, of Holme House. He was born at a farmstead called Old Oakworth (probably part of the ancient Manor House), about half a mile beyond Oakworth Hall, in the year 1743. When a young man James Sugden went to Haworth church on one occasion, with the intention of having amusement at the expense of members of the congregation. For this purpose he filled his pockets with small turnips about the size of marbles, and at intervals during the service, threw them at different people in various parts of the church. One of them aimed at some one on the opposite side of the church past near Mr. Grimshaw's face. Having seen from whom it came Mr. Grimshaw left the pulpit, and entering the gallery, singled out the culprit and addressed him seriously on his irreverent and wicked conduct. He advised him to think on the dangers of such a course, and invited him to attend his early Sunday morning meeting. The youth was much affected, followed the advice of the pastor and shortly afterwards gave his heart to God.

James Sugden married Martha Greenwood, a sister of Paul Greenwood, one of the early Methodist Preachers (see p. 85). and went to live at Holme House, near Laycock. In 1764, during a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit, he joined the class at Holme House, under the care of a pious leader named Jonas Binns, a clogger, at Newsholme.

Shortly after he was appointed leader of the class, and about the year 1770, became a local preacher. His first sermon was preached in a cottage called Lowbank, or the Smithy, between Holme House and Lane Ends. Although Mr. Sugden had few

educational advantages, he acquired a fair amount of theological knowledge, and soon became a very popular preacher. The Revd. Jonathan Edmondson, speaking of his own boyhood says : "The first religious impressions that I can remember were made on my mind under a sermon preached by Mr. James Sugden, a local preacher of strong intellectual powers and deep piety. His text was Matt. iv. 1."

At this period Mr. Sugden was a weaver, but frequently for days and even weeks together, left the din of the shuttle behind, and took an extensive round in the circuit, to declare the unsearchable riches of Christ. These journeys were taken sometimes on his own account, or at the invitation of friends, and at others supplying for the itinerant preachers when sick or out of the circuit. For the latter service he occasionally received a small acknowledgment from the circuit fund, as the following extracts from the circuit book show :—"July 3rd, 1777, by Mr. Taylor's order, towards payment for a coat for James Sugden—15s. 4d."

"Dec. 25th, 1780, James Sugden for supplying 9 days 9s."

This one shilling per day would of course be in addition to his board, which would be supplied by the societies whom he served.

"June 28th, 1787, Robert Harrison and James Sugden 9s. 6d."

Robert Harrison resided at Addingham, and was brother of the Revd. Thomas Harrison.

"March 29th, 1792, James Sugden for supplying in the circuit 7s. 6d."

On the circuit plan of six months, for 1788 and 1789, Mr. Sugden had twenty-three appointments, and we may form some conception of the hard toil they meant, if we remember that poor local preachers in those days had no assistance from train or trap, and seldom a horse to ride. The circuit, after several divisions, nevertheless then extended from Baildon to Gargrave in length, and from Addingham to Cullingworth in width. Although Colne had since become the head of the first large division, the written plan shows that six Sundays were still given to Colne by local preachers of the Keighley Circuit.

We find James Sugden, in bleak November, preaching at Denholme and Cullingworth one Sunday, a fortnight after at Keighley and Steeton, then Skipton; and on December 9th at Colne.

During the year 1791 Mr. Sugden, probably on the death of his father, removed to the house of his nativity. He gave up the Holme House class to another leader, and commenced one at home in connection with the Haworth society. A revival

broke out in the neighbourhood at the same time, under the ministry of the Revs. John Booth and John Grant, and the old class increased from five to twelve, and Mr. Sugden's new class contained nine members. In 1796 Mr. Sugden's class had risen to twenty-five members, and the Haworth class to fifteen. In connection with this class an incident occurred which illustrates the doctrinal tenacity, to the point of intolerance of divergent beliefs, marking that period, and the mastery of such feeling by brotherly love. A neighbour of Mr. Sugden's had concern for her soul, and began to meet in his class. Being a Calvinist the members objected to her attendance, and on that account she was excluded. But so strong was her desire for Christian fellowship, that when the class met, she sat on the threshold of the house, saying that if not permitted to take part in the services she would at all events listen to them. Mr. Sugden's heart was too large to exclude such a soul, so he threw open the door and told her to come in, in spite of the members.

In the year 1863 the class was still met in the house where it was first established, and until a few years ago was led by the son and grandson of Mr. Sugden. The circumstance of its connection with Haworth society while all its members, like the people of the neighbourhood, attended Oakworth chapel, militated much against its prosperity, and in the end led to its extinction.

In his old age Mr. Sugden was supported by Mr. Sagar, of Southfield, Colne.

How James Sugden accomplished the long journeys, and in what spirit he prosecuted the work, may be gathered from one incident that has come down to us. It was his habit to rise at 4 o'clock on Sunday mornings, and after milking and feeding his cows, retire to his chamber to pray, and study his sermons for the day. On the Sunday in question, he had to preach at Yeadon. Having performed his duties he retired as usual, and was so absorbed in the subjects to be dealt with, as to leave home and reach the top of Baildon Moor before discovering that he had neither changed his clothes nor washed himself. He proceeded to a friend's house on the way, borrowed a change of raiment, and preached with such power and unction, that a great revival commenced that day and extended through the circuit.

The date of this revival is not known, but as James Sugden was preaching throughout the circuit in 1808, he might be one of those who had much to do with the great revival at Yeadon, described by Mr. John Crosby, who was stationed in the Keighley Circuit in the years 1805-6.

He had the happiness to witness such a revival as does but rarely occur. In one year, he and his good colleagues, Messrs. G. Gibbon, and J. Muff, admitted 800 members to the society. Of this extraordinary work of God Mr. Crosby has left a short account in a letter written to Mr. Walter Griffith.

“Keighley, April 19th, 1806.

My dear Brother,

With pleasure I give you some account of the good work which our common Lord is carrying on in these parts. From our first coming into the circuit, the prospect was such as gave us good reason to hope there would be a revival, especially at Yeadon. Every successive time we went thither, our hope was increased. Jan. 27th, that hope was realised. Small companies began to meet together for prayer, and several were brought into the liberty of the children of God. But then houses soon became too small to contain the members who ran at the sound of singing and prayer. The vestry was now made choice of as more convenient; but that also being too small, they took possession of the chapel, where from three to four hundred people attended the prayer meeting: many were in great distress, and I think near forty found peace that week. The work still went on and increased. Numbers were struck with deep convictions in their own houses, while at their ordinary employments, whose concern for salvation was such, that some persons were sent for to pray with them. Their neighbours hearing the now well-known sound of either joy or sorrow, flocked in, and soon filled the house; there they continued till the close of day, when the intended dinner was found removed into a corner, or still standing before the fire. On those occasions some continued on their knees for five or six hours together, whilst others were employed in pleading with God on their behalf, till He shed His love abroad in their hearts, and turned their mourning into joy. Three, five, or seven frequently found a sense of pardon before they parted. Some fled from these scenes of confusion, as they were pleased to call them, and went to their work at a distance: but, even there God found them. They were seized with such horror of mind, that they threw down their tools, and returned to their neighbours in distress, requesting the prayers of the godly. The alarm was now more general; and though not all the houses, yet the greatest part became houses of prayer. The day being too short, they ‘borrowed the night,’ and continued the prayer meetings in the chapel until twelve,—sometimes two or three o’clock in the morning; and even then, though dismissed from the chapel, they gathered together in small companies, and continued their supplications to a yielding throne of grace.

"It is natural to suppose that in such a work there would be some irregularities ; one instance of which I give you. A number of men who were employed at a mill, would hold a prayer-meeting one day, at the noon-hour ; which was easily begun, but not so readily concluded ; for they prayed until night, a conduct by no means justifiable. Yet this gave less offence than might have been expected. The proprietor looked in, but soon returned, saying, 'I dare not disturb them, for God is among them.' You have probably heard of their love-feasts being held in a field, where I suppose 5,000 or 6,000 persons attended." This is confirmed by a letter from Mr. David Illingworth, of Keighley, to Mr. Allan Edmondson, of Boyle, Ireland, written in 1806 or 7).

"Last Sunday a lovefeast was held at Yeadon by Mr. Isaac Muff, a preacher in the circuit. The lovefeast was held in a field, and it is supposed there were not less than ten thousand people present, and it is said a glorious revival has taken place there, and in that neighbourhood." Mr. Crosby goes on to say :

"I was there on the 13th inst, and remained a day or two to admit new members. I have seldom been more fully or more agreeably employed, than in meeting them in small companies, for several hours in the day ; while I received on trial 353 ; most of whom professed to have obtained pardon. One hundred and fifty-four were admitted by my colleagues, 506 in the Yeadon society only. We have joined, and admitted on trial this quarter 656 ; most of whom, there is reason to believe, have found peace with God. They are at least fair blossoms ; time only can determine who will bear fruit to perfection. I have just room to add, that I have never seen such a work before. 1st. Where there appeared so much of God, and so little of man. 2nd. Where the work was so great in so small a place. 3rd. Where the work was seemingly so deep in so short a time ; nor 4th. Where the people in general were so overawed by the majesty and goodness of God, as they appear to be at Yeadon. Even the jolly huntsman blew his horn in vain ; not a man durst follow the sound, though the chase had been their favourite amusement. Those who were not convinced said, 'How can we go a hunting when the people are praying on every hand ? their prayers will follow us ; we dare not go.'"

In this great revival, Mr. Crosby was honoured with his share of usefulness. Soon after its commencement, on a Sunday evening, when he was going to preach at Yeadon, there was a man drinking at a public house, who felt a strong and unaccountable inclination to go to the Methodist chapel ; he, however, determined to drink his ale before he went. But when he attempted to do this, his mind was so powerfully impressed

with those words of Paul, in his sermon in the Jewish synagogue at Antioch, "Behold ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you;" that he threw down the tankard and went to the chapel. The moment he entered he was astonished and confounded to hear Mr. Crosby read for his text the very words, the impression of which on his mind had driven him from the public house. His soul was that night deeply awakened; and under that sermon a great number were constrained to cry to God for mercy, and these afterwards joined the society.

This revival continued about three months, during which time there was an increase of three hundred and forty members at Yeadon; which, added to one hundred and forty, the number of old members, made a total of four hundred and eighty; so that the society was more than trebled. The members were distributed in the following manner by Mr. Crosby on April 14th, 15th and 16th, 1806:—William Turnpenny, 60; Joseph Dawson, 60; Thomas Dennison, 60; John Yeadon, 60; William Marshall, 60; John Clayton, 60; Joshua Gibson, 30; James Birch, 30; Samuel Kellett, 30; Samuel Booth, 30. The difficulty of finding suitable men for leaders will explain the largeness of the classes.

Francis Whitley, another name in the first list of local preachers, was the son of the John Whitley whom we have noticed under the year 1774. His conversion was somewhat singular. He was present when his father and mother were awakened, but the sermon does not appear to have affected his heart. For some time he entertained feelings hostile to religion. In 1769 he married, and soon afterwards his wife was converted to God. Francis became a persecutor, and one day when his wife had retired into an out-house to pray, he violently pushed the door upon her, hurting her very much. His object was to drive her out of "that way;" and he calculated that if he could only put her out of temper, he should succeed. But instead of being angry, as he hoped, she looked upon him with great pity and compassion, and expressed those feelings with much affection. Such was the happy state of her mind in converse with the Lord, that she was prepared for this severe trial. With her all was love and peace within; while her poor disappointed husband went away full of remorse and shame. This event, instead of turning his wife out of the way of God, was one means of bringing him into it. On his going into the fields, he had many serious reflections which gave him pain. "My father and mother," he

thought, "are in the way to the Kingdom of Heaven; my dear wife also is going in the same way; and I, poor wretch, am going to hell; and, not willing to go alone, I want others to accompany me!"

Conviction now laid hold upon him; his distress of soul became very great; and from that time he too resolved to be on the Lord's side. Accordingly, he accompanied his wife to the means of grace, and with great humility sought the Lord. The place which he had selected for private prayer in this early stage of his Christian journey, was a corner of his own barn. One day, when at work in the field, he came to a determination to make an immediate and direct application to God, through Jesus Christ, for pardoning mercy. He was on his way to the barn for this purpose, but some difficulty was found in the opening of the door. Such was his anguish of spirit, that he was constrained to fall down outside the barn, and, with uplifted heart and voice, to state his case to God, Who graciously looked upon him, and set his soul at liberty. From that day to the day of his death Mr. Whitley was a truly devoted servant of the Lord.

He became a zealous local preacher, and for years stood as a pillar in the church. He was a man of great punctuality in all things. It is said that he never, on any account, missed a single preaching appointment; and for fifty-two years he was absent from his class only three times.

Francis succeeded his father on the farm, when the latter entered the ministry. The house stands on the right-hand side of the road between Eldwick Beck and the Cragg, and close to the footpath which leads from the former to the latter place. Many hallowed associations cling to that old farmhouse. No doubt Wesley and the early preachers often called there on their way from Otley to Bingley, and found hospitality beneath its roof. On two panes in a window taken from that house are the following inscriptions made by Methodist visitors:—

Man, thy years are ever sliding,
Brightest hours have no abiding;
Life is wasting,
Death is hasting.
Death consigns to heaven or hell.

Oct. 1776.

Prepare to meet thy God.

The second pane has a portrait of Wesley inscribed upon it, and the text in shorthand, "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.

Samuel Smith, 1675.

In 1775 Samuel Smith was stationed in Bradford, and might be on friendly terms with Francis Whitley, then resident at Eldwick Cragg. The date of the system of shorthand was about 1775, therefore probably the above date should be 1775.

A tombstone in Bingley churchyard bears the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of John Whitley, &c., and of Francis Whitley, who was fifty-two years a member of the Methodist Society, forty-eight of which he had been a distinguished local preacher. He closed a useful life in peace, Nov. 27th, 1821, aged 77."

Among the December entries in the circuit book for 1781 there is an item of 8s., "Letters for Mr. Bradburn and Mr. Wesley," and in the April quarter of 1782, "A pair of shoes for Mr. Wesley," indicating that he had close relations with the circuit in those years, and that his country societies contributed to his necessary apparel.

No mention is made in Wesley's Journal of any visit to Keighley in 1781, but it is very unlikely that he would fail to call at a place where one of his preachers so well beloved as Bradburn was stationed. From July 11th to 23rd he was in the West Riding, but where is not named. At the July quarterly meeting an entry of 18s. is made in the circuit book as "Mr. Wesley's expenses." The death of such a tried friend to his work as Mr. Colbeck, sympathy with the widow and fatherless children, and the importance of seeing that such a layman's place was filled by a suitable successor, would almost certainly lead Wesley to spend a day in Keighley in 1781.

The sturdy common-sense of Yorkshire Methodists could not accept Wesley's strong protests against abstinence from attendance upon church service conducted by ungodly or heretical clergymen, hence we find him receiving an appeal from the society at Baildon, then in this circuit. He says, in a letter written from Lewisham, January 9th, 1782, : "Last summer I received a letter from Yorkshire, signed by several serious men, who proposed a difficulty they were under, wherein they knew not how to act. And indeed, I did not well know how to advise them. So I delayed giving them a determinate answer, till I could lay the matter before our brethren at the ensuing Conference. Their difficulty was this, 'You advise all the members of society constantly to attend the service of the church. We have done so for a considerable time. But very frequently Mr. R— our minister, preaches not only what we believe to be false, but dangerously false doctrine. He asserts, and endeavours to prove, that we can-

not be saved from our sins in this life, and that we must not hope to be perfected in love, on this side eternity. Our nature is very willing to receive this; therefore it is very liable to hurt us. Hence we have a doubt whether it is our duty to hear this preaching, which experience shows to weaken our souls.'

"This letter I laid before the Conference, and we easily perceived, the difficulty therein proposed, concerned not only the society at Baildon, but many others in various parts of the Kingdom. It was therefore considered at large, and all our brethren were desired to speak their sentiments freely. In the conclusion, they unanimously agreed—1. That it was highly expedient all the Methodists (so-called) who had been bred therein, should attend the services of the church as often as possible; but that, secondly, if the minister began to preach the Absolute Decrees, or to rail at and ridicule Christian Perfection, they should quietly and silently go out of the church; yet attend it again the next opportunity.

I have since that time revolved this matter over and over in my own mind. And the more I consider it, the more I am convinced, this was the best answer that could be given. I shall advise all our friends, when this case occurs, quietly and silently to go out. Only I must earnestly caution them not to be critical: not to make a man an offender for a word; no, nor for a few sentences, which any who believe the decrees may drop without design. But if such a minister should at any time, deliberately and of set purpose, endeavour to establish Absolute Predestination, or to confute Scriptural Perfection; then I advise all the Methodists in the congregation, quietly to go away.

JOHN WESLEY."

This was drastic dealing with false doctrine; a swift tribunal in every hearer's brain and heart passing present sentence. No ecclesiastical court recognised or consulted. A step surely leading to early practical separation from the Church.

Miss Ritchie, of Otley, was an intimate friend of Miss Bosanquet, who in 1781 resided at Cross Hall, near Batley. When that eminent Christian lady was united in marriage to the Rev. John Fletcher, Miss Ritchie was one of the favoured guests, and has left an interesting record of the solemnities of that important day. She writes, Nov. 12th, 1781, "I can truly say I have been at one Christian wedding; Jesus was invited, and He was at our Cana. We reached Cross Hall before family prayers. Mr. Fletcher was dressed in his

canonicals; and, after giving out one of Mr. Charles Wesley's hymns, he read the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses of the sixth chapter of Revelations, and spoke from them in such a manner as greatly tended to spiritualize the solemnities of the day. On our way to the church, which was nearly two miles distant (Batley), he spoke of the mystery couched under marriage, namely, the union between Christ and the Church. They were married in the face of the congregation; the doors were thrown open, and every one came in that would. We then returned home, and spent a considerable time in singing and prayer with their own family. Nearly twenty friends were present. The time after dinner (which was a spiritual meal as well as a natural one) was chiefly spent in prayer and conversation. Mr. Walton preached in the evening from these most suitable words: 'What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?' There seemed, after preaching, to be a pleasing contest among us, by whom the largest debt of praise was due. Mr. Fletcher, in the course of conversation some days afterwards, said, 'Five and twenty years ago, when I first saw my dear wife, I thought if I ever married she would be the person of my choice; but her large fortune was in the way, she was too rich for me, and I therefore strove to banish every thought of the kind.' '*

It is exceedingly interesting to be thus favoured with a sight of a Methodist wedding, and to find every detail consistent with the high professions of the contracting parties.

The preachers appointed to the circuit at the Conference of 1781 were Isaac Brown and Robert Hayward. The former, having twice previously travelled in the circuit, has been already noticed.

Of Robert Hayward we find no record, save that he entered the ministry in 1774, and retired from the work in 1782. In the circuit book his name is spelt Howard, and he evidently lived at Otley, as rent was paid there for a house occupied by him.

We get a glimpse of the spiritual state of the circuit, and a reference to Mr. Brown, in a letter from Wesley to Miss Ritchie, written from London, January 19th, 1782.

"It seems a little strange to me, my dear Betsy, that I did not hear from you for so long a time. But I imputed your silence to your bodily weakness, of which several of our friends sent me word.

"From our brethren in various parts of England and Ireland, I have very pleasing accounts of the uncommon blessings which many received at the time of renewing their

* *Life of Miss Ritchie*, p. 95.

covenant with God. I am glad to hear that you at Otley had your share. That point, entire salvation from inbred sin, can hardly ever be insisted upon, either in preaching or prayer, without a particular blessing. Honest Isaac Brown firmly believes this doctrine, that we are to be saved from all sin in this life. But I wish, when opportunity occurs, you would encourage him, 1. To preach Christian perfection, constantly, strongly, and explicitly. 2. Explicitly to assert and prove, that it may be received now; and 3. (which indeed is implied therein) that it is to be received by simple faith.

"In every state of mind, in that of conviction, or justification, or sanctification, I believe every person may either go sensibly backward, or seem to stand still, or go forward. I incline to think, all the persons you mention were fully sanctified. But some of them, watching unto prayer, went on from faith to faith; while the others, being less watchful, seemed to stand still, but were, indeed, imperceptibly backsliding. Wishing you all may increase with the increase of God, I am, ever yours,

JOHN WESLEY."*

CHAPTER XXIX.

At the quarterly meeting of April, 1782, Skipton begins to contribute to the circuit finances through Mr. Garforth, who for five years appears in the stewards' book as a subscriber of 10s. 6d. per quarter.

Wesley, during his northern journey in 1782, paid a visit to Keighley. He says, April 27th, "We rode to Keighley (from Halifax), the north-east wind was scarce supportable; the frost being exceedingly sharp, and all the mountains covered with snow. Sunday, 28th, Bingley Church was hot, but the heat was very supportable, both in the morning and afternoon." If Wesley preached in Keighley on this occasion, it must have been on Saturday evening, or at an early hour on Sunday morning, for on Monday, the 29th, he preached at three places as wide apart as Skipton, Grassington, and Pateley Bridge.

From Pateley Bridge he went to Otley, where he says, "Tuesday, 30th. I found Miss Ritchie still hovering between life and death." Wednesday and Thursday he seems to have spent there, for he says, "Thursday, May 2nd. I met the select society; all but two retaining the pure love of God, which some of them received near thirty years ago. On Saturday evening I preached to an earnest congregation at Yeadon. The same congregation was present in the morning, together with an army of little children, full as numerous, and almost as loving, as those that surrounded me at Oldham."

In the quarterly accounts for July, 1782, there is this entry:—

"Mr. Wesley's expenses, besides what Pateley people paid, £2 19s. 5½d."

The appointment to Keighley at the Conference of 1782 was Isaac Brown and William Hunter. We have noticed the former under the year 1761. The latter began to travel in 1767, and died in the work in 1798. He was eminently holy and useful in life, and died triumphantly.

In October, 1783, Mr. J. Greenwood is succeeded in the stewardship by Mr. Wm. Illingworth, for whom his mother, Mrs. Ann Illingworth, built Grove Mill, in the year 1797, where for twenty-two years he was engaged in spinning and manufacturing cotton pieces. Mr. Illingworth was a genial and kind-

hearted master, who manifested a great amount of sympathy and consideration for the welfare of his neighbours and work-people, frequently visiting them in their homes during seasons of sorrow and affliction.

Mr. Wm. Illingworth married a daughter of Mr. James Hindmarsh, who travelled in the Keighley circuit in the year 1779. Influenced probably by Messrs. James and Robert Hindmarsh, Mr. Illingworth read the writings of Baron Swedenborg. This led to his severance from Methodism in the year 1789, as the last entries in the circuit book in his handwriting are under date of October in that year.

At the Conference of 1783 the appointment to Keighley circuit was Benjamin Rhodes and Thomas Mitchell. The latter has been noticed under the year 1768. Mr. Rhodes engaged in the work of the ministry for about half a century. He always possessed the confidence of his brethren, and was highly respected as a laborious servant of the Lord.

A close view of what Wesley regarded as essential to Methodism was tersely expressed this year in conversation with one of his preachers.

Mr. Robert Miller, writing to the Editor of the *Methodist Magazine* in 1825, says, "The first time I had the pleasure of being in company with the Rev. John Wesley, was in the year 1783. I asked him what must be done to keep Methodism alive when he was dead, to which he immediately answered, 'The Methodists must take heed to their Doctrine, their Experience, their Practice, and their Discipline. If they attend to their doctrine *only*, they will make the people *Antinomians*. If to the experimental part of religion *only*, they will make them *Enthusiasts*; if to the practical part *only*, they will make them Pharisees; and if they do not attend to their Discipline, they will be like persons who bestow much pains in cultivating their garden, and put no fence round it, to save it from the wild boar of the forest.' "

James Oddie, who travelled in the Haworth round in 1757 and 1758, had such important connection with the Keighley circuit from the year 1784 to 1790, as to make it desirable that all information obtainable respecting him should be preserved.

We have seen that he was one of those preachers whose engagement in trade caused a resolution to be passed in the Conference of 1768 forbidding the practice, and justifying the prohibition. Probable opposition on his part may account for his name being entered as supernumerary at Newcastle, in 1768 and 1769, and at Yarm, in 1770. Resistance to Wesley's wish and reasoning, caused another minute, short but abso-

lute, to be passed in the Conference of 1770, and as Oddie still refused submission, he ceases to be recognised as a travelling preacher. Mr. Atmore, in the *Methodist Memorials*, attributes his retirement to covetousness. All that we have seen of his early life should make us hesitate to accept that view of his later history, especially as Mr. Atmore is wrong as to Mr. Oddie's influence in Keighley, and among his former ministerial brethren. There might be other reasons than covetousness for Mr. Oddie's determination to continue trading in opposition to the decision of Conference. His toleration for three years as a supernumerary points to some other cause. Examination of his papers, and the letters addressed to him, &c., lead to the conclusion that he was frequently afflicted all the time he lived at Yarm, and in Keighley, and unfit for longer service as an itinerant preacher. He might, therefore, be fully justified in locating himself and entering into business.

We have already given details of Mr. Oddie's labours in the Leeds circuit, which exhibit zeal for God, and strikingly confirm the character given of him by Mr. Atmore in the earlier part of his ministry. He says that "Mr. Oddie was a remarkably sensible man, of deep piety, and of considerable talents for the work of the ministry. For many years he was a burning and shining light, and seemed wholly devoted to God, and the service of the sanctuary. He appeared at that time a very serious, heavenly, and spiritual man, and was eminently useful in the hand of the Lord."*

While in the Leeds circuit, Mr. Oddie became acquainted with the widow of Mr. Thos. Thompson, whom he married probably in the year 1761, as he informs us (*Arminian Magazine*, May, 1783) that she was housekeeper at Matlock Bath twenty years. She resided with Mr. Oddie when he settled at Yarm, and died there August 21st, 1782. They appear to have been very happy together.

In March, 1784, Mr. Oddie married the widow of Mr. Thos. Colbeck, of Keighley, and took up his residence in that town, where he held the offices of class-leader and local preacher until 1788. He carried on the business of the late Mr. Colbeck till February 21st, 1787, when the shop goods were sold by public auction. For some time he was at variance with Mr. Colbeck's children. He charged them with extravagance, and they asserted that he misappropriated their moneys. Mrs. Oddie took their part, and she and they left him, going to reside at Otley. Reports very derogatory to

* Atmore's *Methodist Memorials*, p. 298.

Mr. Oddie's character were circulated. Mr. James Wood, the superintendent of the circuit, sympathised with the family, and took away Mr. Oddie's class-book. In consequence of this painful state of affairs Mr. Oddie published a pamphlet, entitled "An appeal to the public in relation to my conduct and transactions in the case of Mr. T. Colbeck's children. Keighley, Nov. 28th, 1788." In the pamphlet he enumerates eleven accusations, and gives "A true and undisguised answer to them."

We have already seen that T. Colbeck, junr., had practised extravagance which involved him in debt to his father-in-law, and probably caused much family dissension.

The daughters also at that time appear to have lived in a style entirely opposed to Mr. Oddie's views, as may be gathered from memoirs in the *Methodist Magazine*. Of the three, two of them married brothers of the name of Holdsworth. Of Mrs. Sarah Holdsworth it is said, "When she was about fifteen she contracted an intimacy with some fashionable young people. She soon imbibed their spirit, and engaged in the same scenes of vanity; dress in particular, became the idol of her soul."*

Of Mrs. Mary Holdsworth it is said, "She joined the Methodist Society, and walked as a Christian for a considerable time; but being too much exposed to the company of some trifling young persons, she again imbibed their spirit and took pleasure in the vanities of this world, particularly in gay and fashionable dress."†

These extracts show that there was considerable material for family friction, and should mitigate judgment upon a man of undoubted piety during many years of active service.

Mr. John Pawson, in a letter, dated Dec. 8th, 1788, to Mr. Joseph Benson, says, "I hear that Mr. Oddie and his wife are entirely parted, and that she is gone to live at Otley among her friends. He is greatly blamed for being covetous, niggardly, unkind to her children, &c., but how this is I cannot pretend to say. I am very sorry to hear anything of the kind concerning Mr. Oddie, as I ever highly esteemed him, and indeed his wife also. I knew her very well in her first husband's days, as well as in the time of Mr. Colbeck. She was always accounted a very prudent, pious woman, as far as ever I heard. How it is between them I cannot tell, but I fear it will do much harm at Keighley and that neighbourhood."

* *Methodist Magazine*, 1801.

† *Methodist Magazine*, 1803.

Several attempts were made to effect a reconciliation, but, so far as now can be ascertained, in vain. They were not reconciled in 1789, and he died in 1790.

Mr. Oddie was not again received into the Methodist society, but the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson, who went into the ministry from the Keighley circuit, and became President of the Conference in 1818, says respecting him, "He neither changed his religious sentiments nor joined any other sect. He preached occasionally at his own house in Keighley, until his last illness and death, which happened in the year 1790. I was at Keighley when he died, but being very unwell did not see him in his last hours."

It was, however, the general opinion that he died in peace and entered into rest. He was interred at Gisburn. His tomb is directly opposite the south door of the church, and on it is the following inscription:—

"In this tomb are deposited the remains of Mr. James Oddie, minister of the gospel at Keighley, where he died the 10th of February, 1790, in the 60th year of his age." Also an epitaph, written by Richard Baxter for himself:—

Farewell, vain world, as thou hast been to me
Dust and a shadow, those I leave with thee.
The unseen vital substance I commit
To Him that's substance, life, and light to it.
The leaves and fruit here dropt are holy seed,
Heaven's heirs to generate, to heal and feed.
Them also thou wilt flatter and molest,
But shalt not keep from everlasting rest.

Mr. Oddie was a maker of verses, and the following from his pen might have taken the place of Baxter's lines:—

Life, what a fleeting thing!
The arrow from the string
Flies swiftly to the destined mark;
So mortals look at day;
As soon they haste away,
And drop again into the dark.

The vapours just arise,
Then mingle with the skies,
Nor leave they scar or trace behind:
We fly unto our doom
As shuttle through the loom,
Yet death we *unexpected* find.

The statement of the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson that Mr. Oddie "never changed his religious sentiments or joined any

other sect " requires some explanation. The Rev. C. Atmore says, " He sunk into great obscurity; and a little before his death united himself to Mr. Atlay, at Dewsbury, where he preached a short time, and then was taken away, I hope to the Paradise of God."

The facts of the case are these:—Mr. Oddie, in 1784, sympathised with the ninety-one preachers whose names were omitted by Wesley from the Deed of Declaration, constituting a hundred of the travelling preachers, "The Conference of the People called Methodists"; and at the urgent request of Mr. Robert Oastler, of Thirsk, wrote a petition, in very mild terms, to Mr. Wesley, his brother, and the hundred brethren. This petition was privately circulated and will appear later in this history.

Mr. Oddie also took part with the preachers who strongly advocated the administration of the sacrament by the Methodist preachers. Correspondence which will be given shows that Mr. Oddie did not exactly join Atlay, but merely assisted him for a month or two in 1789.

The Rev. Jonathan Edmondson says of Mr. Oddie, " He had a strong understanding, was a man of deep thought, and generally searched things to the bottom. As a speaker he was remarkably correct, deeply serious, very deliberate, and uncommonly instructive and edifying. Many of the first race of Methodist preachers were men of uncommon natural parts, and had they enjoyed the advantages of a regular education, would have been the first men of the age, but none were superior, and few equal to Mr. Oddie. His personal appearance was striking. He was very tall, remarkably thin, had a long visage, a quiet eye, and his countenance was expressive of uncommon sagacity and penetration."

Wm. Blagborne, stationed in York in 1791, is another witness to the value placed upon Mr. Oddie as a theologian. Writing to Mr. Eli Jowett, of Keighley, August 13th, 1791, he says:—

" I lived in expectation of your coming to Yarm, but Providence did not so order it. I met with Mr. Booth at Manchester, who informed me that the written sermons and skeletons of the late Mr. Oddie, were to be sold. You know I have a part of them, which I borrowed of you, and if you please to gather up and send me the remainder will give you a guinea, or two if they be worth it, but will at the least give you one guinea. I promised Mr. Booth to join with me if I purchased them, and if he purchased them he made me the same promise. I purpose being at Keighley about Martinmas, or if you think it more expedient can come sooner. Please to

make Mr. Booth acquainted with the above, else he may think I act unfairly.

WM. BLAGBORNE."

Correspondence of Mr. Atlay with Mr. Oddie will confirm what has previously been said.

" Dewsbury, June 12th, 1789.

My dear Sir,

I have only this day received yours dated the fourth of June. I, with many more, were disappointed in not seeing you last Lord's day. I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you before I go off for London, as I intend to leave this place next week. However, my house is open to receive you, and I shall be glad if you find it agreeable enough to induce you to stay till I return. I shall add no more, but that the sooner you come, the more agreeable to

Your truly affectionate,

JOHN ATLAY."

" Dewsbury, Sept. 14th, 1789.

My dear Bro.,

Since I wrote to you I have had a letter from Mr. McNab, of Sheffield, and another from Mr. Smith, of Stockport. Our lovefeast is the 27th of this month, at what time Mr. Smith has sent me word, he intends to be here. I expect Mr. Eels some time next week, and I should be glad to see you at Dewsbury at that time if you could make it convenient. I have quite determined to give up my salary, till the house be out of debt, or some unforeseen change should happen among us. If you should like to spend the winter with us, I should be glad of your company, and would board you for as little as could possibly be afforded, and I think you would be more comfortable with us than by yourself at Keighley; and you would have greater opportunities of usefulness here.

We have no great changes here of any kind. The preachers keep up the same spirit amongst the people as last year, and will do it as long as God suffers them. They are going to build, and it is said the house is to be up by Christmas, but sooner or later 'tis all one to

Your truly affectionate,

JOHN ATLAY."

As Mr. Oddie took an important part on the side of the preachers whose names were omitted from the Deed of Declaration executed on February 28th, 1784, it is necessary to explain that transaction. To provide for the stability and

the government of the Connexion, had been to Mr. Wesley a subject of serious concern for several years. This was finally effected by the "Deed" alluded to. By means of this instrument a legal description was given to the term Conference, and the settlement of the chapels upon trustees was provided for, so that the appointment of preachers to officiate in them should be vested in the Conference, as it had heretofore been in Mr. Wesley. Other matters were settled by the deed, all of which had an important bearing upon the administration of Methodism, and one hundred travelling preachers, selected by Mr. Wesley, were constituted the legal Conference. There were in 1783 one hundred and ninety-two preachers in the circuits of Great Britain, and it was quite natural that among the ninety-two passed over there should be dissatisfaction, and some fear concerning their future position with respect to the legal Conference. This was sure to be the case, because some of them appear to have been better qualified by years and experience than a number of the chosen.*

The remonstrances at the Conference of 1784 were outspoken and strong, and considerable disputation followed. "Never," says Mr. Atmore, "while memory holds her seat shall I forget with what ardour and earnestness Mr. Fletcher expostulated, even on his knees, both with Mr. Wesley and the preachers. To the former he said, 'My father! my father! they have offended, but they are your children.' To the latter he exclaimed, 'My brethren! my brethren! he is your father,' and then portraying the work in which they had unitedly engaged, fell again on his knees, and with much fervour and devotion engaged in prayer. The Conference was bathed in tears; many sobbed aloud." In a brief sentence, Wesley states the effect of these devout pleadings. "Tuesday, July 27th. Our Conference began; at which four of our brethren, after long debate (in which Mr. Fletcher took much pains) acknowledged their fault, and all that was past was forgotten." The four, however, were not reconciled, but eventually left the Connexion.

John Pawson says, "Mr. Wesley, designedly or otherwise, left out the names of several of the old and respectable preachers; and these good men were exceedingly grieved, and not without reason. Many of the trustees also were alarmed, thinking that we wished to make the chapels our own property, but nothing of the kind was ever contemplated."

Robert Oastler, a grocer in Thirsk, who afterwards left the Connexion with Mr. Kilham's party, wrote on this matter to Mr. James Oddie, on June 3rd, 1785.

* See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii., 422.

“ Very dear Sir,

I beg leave to hint to you that it's the opinion of some here, that if Mr. Wesley continues to persevere in refusing the 91 preachers that justice which their case demands, that the reputable private Methodists, who disapprove of the good old man's conduct, should enter into a petition, signifying (in mild terms) their sentiments and fully declaring that if he continues inflexible they shall consider it their duty to support the ninety-one. If this is agreeable to your ideas, I beg you will favour me with your reply.”

To this letter Mr. Oddie promptly replied, and Mr. Oastler writes again on June 10th, 1785.

“ Very dear Sir,

I am favoured with your kind letter of the 7th inst., and thank you for the instructive observations it contains. I am fully satisfied that a petition on the plan you propose will be best, and earnestly request you to draw one. I would fully enter into it, but I am not equal to the business. You will be so kind as to favour me with such a petition as you judge most proper, and then I will take the earliest opportunity of handing copies of it to my different friends on this side the country.

I hope by return of post to be favoured as requested above. If you can be the happy instrument of uniting again the contending parties, you will have much consolation on the reflection, and I trust your well-meant endeavours will in some degree succeed. With much esteem and kind respects, I am, dear sir, your obliged friend,

ROBERT OASTLER.”

Mr. Oddie lost no time in drawing up the following petition:—

“ To the Rev. Mr. John and Charles Wesley, and the one hundred brethren, the humble petition of the subscribers.

Wishing well to the prosperity of our part of the church and people of God, and knowing how much unity, peace and love, among the preachers, contributes to this, we feel ourselves somewhat affected with fear, lest for the present the minds of the ninety-one brethren not mentioned in the Deed, should be in any measure grieved or alienated from the rest, and that in future they should be more so. And lest anything should appear to the governors of our nation, by any addition to, or alteration of, that Deed that might render us less respectable to them, we earnestly request it may be settled privately between the one hundred, and the ninety-one brethren. And in order to do this, we first humbly entreat our

Rev. Fathers in God, that they would suffer or advise the one hundred brethren to do this.

Secondly—We, with the same earnestness, entreat the one hundred brethren, and our beloved teachers, that they would, by a writing signed with their own hand, respectively assure their ninety-one brethren, that at the decease of the Rev. Mr. Wesleys they will not take any advantage, or act in any line of preference to them, but will upon Mr. Wesley's decease invite them (or as many of them as shall be continued in the Connexion of itinerant preachers to that period) to their first meeting, and receive them to all ends and purposes, into an equality and on a like footing with themselves. Thus doing, we hope out of the eater will come forth meat, and out of the strong sweetness.

That the ninety-one having this proof of their brethren's affection, they will not only be cured of all suspicion of their desiring power over them; but will hold them in higher estimation and love than ever. We say no more to induce our beloved brethren to do this thing, but just this simple word, let each of the one hundred put himself in the place of the ninety-one, and then act according to the feelings of his own heart upon that supposition."

Mr. Oastler highly approved of the petition and took immediate action. He writes:—

" Thirsk, June 24th, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I am duly favoured with your kind petition and letter on the 14th inst. I have laid it before different sensible friends, and sent it to some circuits. I have had the satisfaction to find it is universally approved of.

I sincerely wish you to send a copy *immediately* to every circuit in England. I have received the following reply from one circuit:— 'I think the address to Mr. Wesley is sensible, drawn up in modest language, and proper to be signed by all who see the subject in that point of view.' My friend will (if health permit) put it forward in his circuit.

I have sent it to five circuits, and intend this day to have copies addressed to five circuits more. Let me remind you of your own advice, 'Lose no time, and pursue it with vigour.' I trust our gracious God will prosper your undertaking. With real esteem,

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

ROBERT OASTLER.

P.S.—I hope you will let one of your young men write

many copies of the petition, and wish you to send copies into the north, as well as other places."

This petition probably embodied the general desire of the ninety-one excluded preachers and the laymen who sympathised with them, expressed by letter and in conversation during the interval between the signing of the Deed, February 28th, 1784, and the Conference of that year, when the matter was debated. Unknown to Mr. Oddie and his friends, Wesley had already done his part to bring about the result they sought. On April 7th, 1785, he wrote the following letter, and entrusted it to Joseph Bradford, to be read at the first meeting of Conference after his death:—

" My dear Brethren,

Some of our travelling preachers have expressed a fear, that, after my decease, you would exclude them, either from preaching in connection with you, or from some other privileges which they now enjoy. I know no other way to prevent any such inconvenience, than to leave these my last words with you.

I beseech you by the mercies of God, that you never avail yourselves of the Deed of Declaration, to assume any superiority over your brethren; but let all things go on, among those itinerants who choose to remain together, exactly in the same manner as when I was with you, so far as circumstances will permit.

In particular, I beseech you, if you ever loved me, and if you now love God and your brethren, to have no respect of persons in stationing the preachers, in choosing children for Kingswood school, in disposing of the yearly contribution and the preachers' fund, or any other of the public money; but do all things with a single eye, as I have done from the beginning. Go on thus, doing all things without prejudice or partiality, and God will be with you even to the end.

JOHN WESLEY."

When the first Conference after Wesley's death assembled, on July 26th, 1791, Mr. Bradford produced the above letter, and the Conference immediately and unanimously resolved, " That all the preachers who are in full Connexion with them, shall enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoy, agreeably to the above-written letter of our venerable deceased Father in the Gospel."

CHAPTER XXX.

BEFORE holding the Conference at Leeds, Wesley paid visits to different places in the Keighley circuit, of which we have brief mention in the Journal, but a fuller account in a Manuscript Book left by Mr. Allan Edmondson, a native of Keighley, Wesley says, Thursday, July 15th, "I retired to Otley and rested two days," a most unusual circumstance in his pilgrim life. The great esteem he had for Miss Ritchie caused Otley to be a Bethany to him, but we also find other kindred spirits drawing him thither, and probably affording to him wise counsel in connection with the events of this year, so momentous in the history of Methodism. Miss Ritchie says, under the head of July 16th, "Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher visited Otley. I was truly blessed and edified by their society. Our house was full of company, and my health very indifferent. But the Lord does all things well ; He gave me entire resignation to His will."

From Otley Wesley went to Bingley, where he says, Sunday, 18th, "I preached morning and afternoon in Bingley church, but it would not near contain the congregation." Mr. Edmondson gives us the afternoon text, Psalm xlc. v. 12 and divisions: "So teach us to number our days, &c." First, he showed what was meant by numbering our days. Secondly, what that wisdom was. Mr. Edmondson fills up a considerable gap in the Journal as follows: "Again at five Mr. Wesley preached at Keighley, from ii John, verse 8. Look to yourselves that we lose not those things we have wrought but that we receive a full reward."

Wesley probably slept at Keighley, for Mr. Edmondson says, "Monday, 19th, in the morning at five (Mr. Wesley preached) from Judges, chap. i. 2nd verse: But the Canaanites would dwell in that land." We have the following entry in the Circuit book, "Mr. Wesley's expenses at White Bear, Turnpikes, &c., 16/2."

John Booth was landlord of the White Bear, and a trustee of the first chapel in Keighley. Mr. Colbeck being dead, the charge might be for entertainment and horses to Baildon and Otley, for Mr. Edmondson goes on to say. "Again at one, Mr. Wesley preached at Baildon from Matt. xv., 28, "O woman great is thy faith ; be it unto thee even as thou wilt." At half-past six Mr. Wesley preached at Otley, from Matt. iv., 10, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, &c." A. Edmondson dined this day at Miss Ritchie's with Rev. Mr. Wesley and Mr. Samuel

Bradburn, and again rode with them to Leeds, as he had done the day before to Keighley.

The Journal is not clear as to where Wesley was from the 19th to the 24th. From the remark of Mr. Edmondson we should infer—at Leeds, especially at Hanging Heaton,—the next place named would be more accessible from that town than Otley.

He says, "Tuesday, 20th. Though it rained all day, in the morning we had a good congregation at five. Wednesday, 21st. I met the Society, and found but one or two of the original members, most of them being gone to Abraham's bosom. I was a little surprised to find that only two or three of the rest had stood fast in the glorious liberty. But, indeed, most of them recovered their loss four years ago. Thursday, 22nd. Although it rained, yet I met the congregation in the morning, and most of them were athirst for full salvation. Friday, 23rd. Abundance of people were present at five in the morning, and such a company of children as I have hardly seen in England."

In connection with the visit to Bingley we have Wesley's first reference to Sunday schools, and his words are those of a seer. "Sunday, 18th. Before service I stepped into the Sunday school, which contains two hundred and forty children, taught every Sunday by several masters, and superintended by the curate. So, many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners, at least, as well as to read the Bible. I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?"

The date of the commencement of a Sunday school in Bingley is June, 1784, just one month before Mr. Wesley visited it. The original rules and regulations state that all subscribers of 5s. were to be governors for the year. Mr. John White was elected upper master, with a stipend of half-a-crown a day, and Mr. Jeremiah Briggs to be under-master at 2s. per day; John Longbottom and Solomon Clark, assistant masters, at a shilling per day. The school hours to be from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., from April 1st to October 1st, and from 9 to 4 during winter. "The children of Dissenters to be allowed to attend their own places of worship." "All persons receiving parish relief to be compelled to send their children on pain of forfeiting such relief."

"All persons having parish apprentices to be admonished to send them regularly at least one half of the day." The rules close in the following words:—"That above all things,

the masters take all proper occasion to plant the fear of God in their (the children's) hearts, to make them serious and concerned for their souls, and to awaken them into a sense of the danger they are in without the grace of God, and the aid of religion." The subscriptions for the first year amounted to £47 4s. and the expenditure to £39 3s. 1½d.

In this year, 1784, Mr. Wm. Newsholme, residing at Newhouse, Oakworth, had the honour of commencing the first Sunday school within the area of the Worth Valley. He was one of the leading stuff manufacturers in this neighbourhood during the latter half of the eighteenth century, employing a considerable number of combers and weavers. Like all the stuff manufacturers of that period, he sold his pieces at Halifax Market. One day in 1784, while attending the market, he heard of the establishment and success of the Sunday schools at Gloucester, and on his return home explained the system to a few friends. A fortnight afterwards he opened a school in one of his own cottages, which for some time was carried on chiefly by his own family, and Mr. John Craven. Shortly after he added another cottage, and when these premises became too small, it was removed to Sykes Head, where a school was built by subscription.

Mr. Newsholme was a kind and benevolent man. At Shrovetide, on Collop Monday, he regularly gave to the poor a goodly number of collops, or rashers of bacon. A poor woman, in bad times, once went to a provision shop and asked to be trusted for a peck of meal. The shopkeeper weighed her the meal, but meanwhile gave her a lecture on the necessity of poor people saving something in good times to help them in times of scarcity, adding that if anything should happen he would lose his money. The poor but honest woman bursting into tears, said that she would rather leave the meal than be mistrusted, and emptied it from her bag into the bin. On her way home, meeting Mr. Newsholme, he observed that she was crying, and asking the cause she told him her case. Returning home, a cart shortly stopped at the door, and the carter handed to her meal, flour, a pot of butter, and several other very useful articles.

The first school at Sykes Head was closed for a few years in the early part of last century. On account of the failure of subscriptions, the old system of payment of teachers was given up, and an attempt made to conduct the school on the voluntary system. This seems to have failed, as one of the old scholars stated that he was sent to Keighley Sunday school for several years. Very soon afterwards a school was opened at Braithwaite in a comb shop, probably by Mr. James Greenwood, who resided there.

In the *Leeds Mercury* of August 23rd, 1785, there was published an interesting account of the first Sunday school established in Keighley. The writer says—"In October last a Sunday School was opened at Keighley with about 100 scholars, which has been so well conducted that there are now near 300 boys and girls that regularly attend every Sunday, who are taught to read and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. A handsome subscription has been opened to support this noble institution, one gentleman advancing ten guineas, and others smaller sums. Two persons offered to act as masters gratis, one for six and the other for twelve months; and by the subscribers forming themselves into visitors, two regularly attending in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, the most perfect decorum is kept. If the behaviour of the children is unusual they are reprimanded as follows: If the offender is clearly convicted of swearing, or any other misdemeanour, he stands on a table in the school-room, holding over his head—"I merit correction;" and if guilty of a second offence, or of absenting himself from divine service, he is made to stand in the aisle opposite the minister with like inscription. On the other hand, those who are proficient in learning, and most meritorious in behaviour are rewarded with small gratuities. By these means vice and immorality are discountenanced, and learning and piety pleasantly and seasonably instilled."

An undated manuscript left by Mr. David Illingworth, who was circuit steward in 1812, gives further information respecting the Sunday school. "It is more than forty years since the first Sunday school in this town and neighbourhood was opened at our Free Grammar School. It was chiefly supported by a benevolent neighbourhood, who provided books, superintended the school, and allowed the head master (Joseph Wright) two shillings, and the other teachers one shilling and sixpence per Sunday. Mr. Clayton was treasurer, and after the funds were exhausted, he continued advancing expenses until he was twelve or fourteen pounds out of pocket, which he generously gave."

My father stated that his uncle, Mr. James Barwick, was treasurer during part of the earlier life of the school, and advanced fifteen or sixteen pounds which was never repaid. The school was discontinued about 1789 or 1790, and Mr. Illingworth goes on to say—"The Methodists then opened a general Sunday School in the Methodist Chapel for all denominations. Books, &c., were provided the first two years by my late uncle, Nathaniel Illingworth, and self soliciting the support of a few individuals. As the number of scholars

increased we had general assistance in proportion. The records of 1792 and downwards are regular as to officers and teachers."

The children were taught by teachers of various denominations and religious opinions, but united in the closest bonds of amity. One or two superintendents walked about the school with sticks to keep order, and a few young men acted as monitors. As no fire was provided for warming, the school was only held in the milder portion of the year.

Mr. John Stamp was appointed to the Keighley circuit in 1807 and 1808. He introduced the system of voluntary tuition, and entirely remodelled the school both as to finance and discipline.

"The first collection in the Methodist Chapel, May, 1803, was £3 10s. The next public collection on April 13th, 1807, was £3 8s. In that year the Rev. J. Stamp introduced our present system, which soon raised the school into a more flourishing state. In 1808 private subscriptions raised about £20."

The Rules of the Temple Row Sunday School, drawn up by Mr. Stamp, are before the compiler of these records, and on the title page are the following lines:—

Behold! with holy and with reverent mein,
View in that sacred house the simple scene:
Silent, attentive, are the little band;
Mute is the tongue, and still the restless hand;
Peace reigns o'er all, while mild instructions sway
Each listening group—they listen and obey:
And as th' allotted Task, the Hymn, the Prayer,
Their artless tones in change alternate hear.

A few of the rules of the school are interesting to us from their peculiarity. "1. This Society shall consist of a President, Superintendents, Treasurer, Secretaries, Teachers, and all Subscribers of one guinea annually, or upwards. The President, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Superintendents form the Committee.

3. Four classes of scholars shall attend divine service on a Lord's Day, viz., two to the Church and two to the Chapel; also two shall be taken out into the vestry at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in order that the truths of Christianity may be presented to the minds of the children, with all possible plainness suited to their age and capacity.

Any Superintendent or President, being a quarter of an hour past the appointed time, shall forfeit threepence, and a teacher three-halfpence for the same neglect. Should they be absent the whole of the day, the fine is double, except a

proper substitute is provided, or sufficient notice given to the Superintendent or President. The fines to be levied quarterly, and given to the funds of the library.

No girl must walk in the school with pattens on."

At the re-establishment of the Sunday school in 1808, arrangements were made with the landlord of the King's Arms to provide the children from a distance with broth at a half-penny per basin. They brought bread with them, and thus had a comfortable lunch. Sometimes the yard and stables were filled with children.

We resume the narrative of David Illingworth. "In 1813, we paid our first school rent of £30." This was probably owing to the heavy debt upon the new Methodist chapel opened in 1810. "We were occasionally visited by Mr. Clayton, Mr. Greenwood, and the Rev. Theodore Dury, who subscribed five guineas each per annum."

The writer's father, Mr. John Laycock, was connected with Temple Street school very early in life. He became a teacher in 1808, when nineteen years of age, and was elected one of its superintendents in 1812, and the books show that he continued his interest in the school for many years, and had very largely to bear the financial burden of the school and chapel. In conjunction with a Mr. George Hanson, of Wilsden, Mr. Laycock edited one of the first Sunday School hymn books issued in Yorkshire. It passed through several editions, and was used until 1868 in some schools of the circuit. In 1813 a Sunday school library was formed, and must for many years have been a great boon, as literature was then dear, and difficult to procure by people earning low wages.

In 1815 a Sunday School Bible Association was commenced, to provide Bibles at 4s. 6d. or 6s. 5d. each, and Testaments at 1s 8d. and 2s. 4d. A book of instalment payments shows that the children largely availed themselves of this convenient method of obtaining the Sacred Scriptures.

The old books witness to a care, devotion, and indefatigable labour, which largely contributed to give Keighley the high character for religion and morality it conspicuously held in the past century.

A few extracts from the book will be of interest.

"1812. Quarterly Meeting of Officers and Teachers on Lovefeast Sunday after evening service in new chapel to consider the government of the school. Any teacher absent to forfeit 3d.; Superintendents 6d. except sickness prevent

All subscribers of one guinea to be allowed to attend and vote.

Chairman to be one of the Circuit Ministers, or a Presi-

dent of the school. No mention of Rector or Curate. Chairman to have casting vote.

No Teacher or Superintendent shall leave before the conclusion of the meeting without permission from the Chairman.

The discipline of the school was very strict.

The Superintendent held a sort of court, and transgressors, after proof, suffered the penalty of exposure before the school, labelled with their crimes.

Thus in 1816 Jno. Holmes had to stand placarded with the following: Talking, Truant, Fighting, Swearing, Lying.

There are records of the Rector of Keighley, Rev. T. Dury, visiting and addressing the school, and the catholic feeling toward it will be seen when we state that for six years, in the Parish church, a collection was made for its support at the same time as in the Methodist chapel.

The school still increasing in numbers and expense, Providence sent extra supplies. In the year 1815 the collection at church was £15 4s., and at chapel £24 1s. Subscriptions brought the total to £82 9s. 11½d.

"In 1816 the collections at chapel were £24 1s.; at church £13 10s." with subscriptions, £92 6s. 4d. total 1817, chapel £38 14s., church £14, with subscriptions, total £56 18s. 8½d. 1818, at chapel, preacher, Rev. R. Newton, collection £56 ; church £16 ; with arrears of subscriptions £114 1s. 0½d. 1819, The school had £25 14s. 6d. in hand towards expenses of the year. 1820, Chapel collection, £53 10s.; church collection (the last) £15 12s., and donations £1 11s.

In Mr. John Laycock's journal, he states that on the 14th of April, 1822, the Independents commenced a Sunday school. Also on the same date he says a Methodist Sunday school was re-commenced at Morton Banks. From some source Mr. C. D. Hardcastle gathered the information that a school was opened there in about 1790.

On April 15th, 1822, my father says, "This day a National Girls' school has been commenced by the Church party at Damside."

The appointment to Keighley in 1784 was Parson Greenwood and John Booth. Parson Greenwood was a native of the hamlet of Shackleton in Wadsworth, near Heptonstall. Several of his relatives are buried in the graveyard connected with Heptonstall chapel. His name repeatedly appears in the circuit book from 1754 to 1762, when he entered upon the work of an itinerant preacher.

It is to be regretted that no record exists of this good

and useful man, save the obituary notice at the time of his death. Mr. Wesley mentions him in his sermon on the Education of Children as a preacher "well known in the North of England." The obituary tells us that "He preached with much acceptance in the various circuits to which he was appointed, and we believe that his ministry was owned of God."

Mr. Parson Greenwood itinerated in the North of England throughout his entire ministry of thirty-five years, with the exception of one year spent in Kent. The esteem in which he was held is shown by the fact he was appointed by Wesley again and again to the same circuits, and allowed to stay in them two and three years in succession at a time when the appointments were chiefly annual. Thus he was stationed five years in Birstall, three in Leeds, four in Chester, three in Sheffield, four in Liverpool, and three in Bradford.

In 1778 the Liverpool circuit seems to have extended as far east as Bolton, where Parson Greenwood had his home in two attics near to the chapel at Ridgway Gates, in which Mr. Greenwood used to keep his vituals. George Eskrick, a weaver in Bolton, did a notable thing in connection with the erection of this chapel. "The Rev. Mr. Fowles, a clergyman, had the management of a sandbed from which the poor people had to obtain their sand, and hearing of the intention of the Methodists to build, he announced that after the expiration of five days the sand would be charged half a crown a load. This, to them, was a serious matter, but George Eskrick was a man of too much energy to be easily defeated. Accordingly, he at once requested all the Methodists, young and old, strong and feeble, to repair with him to the sandpit, and to dig and convey away all the sand they needed. To a man, they obeyed George's injunction, and in a single day got as much as their intended chapel was likely to require.

Michael Fenwick was then their preacher, and kept running over the half-mile distance, between the site of the new chapel and the clerical sandbed, encouraging the people in their task, and at one time wanting to sing the hymn beginning, 'Before Jehovah's awful throne'; but blunt George Eskrick imperatively stopped his spiritual superior, telling him to take a spade in his hand, for there was a time for all things, and this was a time to dig."*

In 1765 Mr Greenwood was stationed at Birstall in company with Mr. John Murlin and Mr. Jno. Pawson. The latter says of him that he was "an Israelite indeed." They had to face a form of opposition very different from that of mobs.

The Birstall circuit embraced the parish of Huddersfield, of which the Rev. Henry Venn was the vicar, a pious man, and thoroughly evangelical. He contended that because he preached the same doctrines there was no call for Methodism within his field of labour. In 1761 Mr. Wesley met Venn's remonstrances by a concession that his preachers should only invade the parish once a month. This did not satisfy Mr. Venn, and in 1764 and 1765 Wesley, to secure peace, withdrew the preachers altogether. Both people and preachers were so much aggrieved that Messrs. Murlin, Pawson and Greenwood took the matter into their own hands, and Pawson says, "We now began preaching there again, and by this means a way was opened into the mountains above, where the people in general were little better than heathens, ignorant and wicked to a high degree. The Lord hath since then wrought a wonderful change among them. Several chapels have been built in that part, and many souls savingly converted to God."

Contrasted with the narrow spirit of Venn how catholic are the sentiments of Wesley in a letter on this controversy written to the vicar of Huddersfield on June 22nd, 1765. "Indeed, I trust the bad blood is now taken away; let it return no more. Let us begin such a correspondence as has never been yet, and let us avow it before all mankind. Not content with not weakening each other's hands, or speaking against each other directly or indirectly, let us defend each other's character to the utmost, against either ill or well-meaning evil speakers. I am not satisfied with 'Be very civil to the Methodists, but have nothing to do with them.' No; I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ. We have not only one faith, one hope, one Lord, but are directly engaged in one warfare. We are carrying the war into the devil's own quarters, who, therefore, summonses all his hosts to war. Come, then, ye that love Him, to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. . . . Come and strengthen the hands, till you supply the place of your weak, but affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

The infirmities of age constrained Mr. Greenwood to settle at Leeds in 1796, but he continued to preach occasionally until a few months before his death. At the Christmas quarterly meeting of 1810 he rose up, and leaning on the top

*Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii., 351.

of his staff, gave a most impressive and solemn charge to all present, and informed them that he believed it was the last quarterly meeting he should ever live to attend. A few weeks afterwards he sickened, and with calmness and composure resigned his body to death, and his spirit into the hands of God, Who gave it, in the 83rd year of his age.

John Booth, the colleague of Parson Greenwood, was converted to God in early life, and served his generation more than forty years as a travelling preacher. He was a man of plain, useful talents, and much Christian zeal. In the estimation of his brethren he stood high as a man of great simplicity of manners and sincerity of heart. When he retired from the active ministry shortly before his death, he settled in Wetherby. The affliction which terminated his course was increased to a fatal crisis by his sympathetic attention to his suffering wife, who died a few days before him. His death was sudden, peaceful and triumphant. Mr. Booth was appointed to the Keighley circuit in 1790 and 1791.

Much interest attaches to the story of this Yorkshire circuit which has been compiled to the period of Wesley's death, but I must cast the responsibility of telling it on other hands.

I have endeavoured to trace Wesley's direct connection with the round, and the influence of himself, his brother, and other leaders of the eighteenth century revival upon the preachers labouring in it during a period of fifty years. I have also given such notices as are obtainable of the travelling and local preachers, leaders, &c., who have contributed to the life of the church in this once wide field, and have tried to make the hand of God with them visible in their sphere of operation.

If I have succeeded, to the great Head of the Church be the praise. I trust the workers of to-day will be encouraged to follow in the footsteps of the sainted dead whose names appear upon these pages. To them may justly be applied the words of the late Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool, "I believe firmly that, excepting Luther and his continental contemporaries, and our own martyred reformers, the world has seen no such men since the days of the apostles. I believe there have been none who have preached so much clear scriptural truth, none who have lived such lives, none who have shown such courage in Christ's service, none who have suffered so much for the truth, none who have done so much good. If any one can name better men, he knows more than I do."

I express my great indebtedness to Mr. George Stamp, of Grimsby, for the use of his invaluable collection of Methodist letters, &c., and the personal interest he has shown in my work, by passing on to me everything he could find bearing

upon the history; and to the Rev. C. H. Kelly for access to the treasures of the Book Room. I owe much also to the indefatigable research of the late Mr. C. D. Hardcastle, of Leeds; to Messrs. B. Moore, of Burnley; J. Stott, of Haslingden; W. Walker, of Settle; and especially to the Rev. E. Strutt, of Shipley; to all of whom I tender most grateful acknowledgment.

APPENDIX.

The approximate date of the introduction of Methodism into the following places in the Haworth Round and Keighley Circuit, or the time when they first appear in the Circuit, or Society Books.

N.B.—The Circuit Book is indicated by C.B.; the Society Books by S.B.)

Addingham, 1744 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
Aden, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
Arthington, Mar. 29th, 1790. C.B.
Askwith, Jan. 17th, 1760. C.B.
Bacup, 1747 (Grimshaw names Society formed by Darney).
Baildon, 1744 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
Balladen, July 15th, 1762. C.B.
Bank House, 1752 (Historical Society, i. 105).
Barcroft, Oct. 16th, 1760. C.B.
Barley, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
Beamsley, Oct. 15th, 1772. C.B. and S.B.
Benroyd, April 16th, 1761. C.B.
Bentley Wood Green, Jan. 18th, 1759. C.B.
Bewersal, July 7th, 1763. C.B.
Bingley 1744 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
Bishopside, Oct. 15th, 1761. C.B.
Blackburn, 1747 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
Black Burton, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
Blacket Hill, June 9th, 1758 (Todmorden Book).
Blackmires, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
Blubberhouse, 1763. S.B.
Booth, April 19th, 1759. C.B.
Booth Fold, Oct. 14th, 1762. C.B.
Bracken Hill, 1763. S.B.
Bradley, June 1779. C.B.
Braithwaite, 1763. S.B.
Bramley Head, July 3rd, 1777. C.B.
Branthwaite, 1763. S.B.
Brimcroft, 1751 (Darney's Poem).
Broad Clough, Oct. 20th, 1757. C.B.
Burley, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.

- Burnley, Jan. 23rd, 1775. C.B.
 Burnsall, 1790. S.B.
 Burshitt, April 14th, 1763. C.B.
 Carr, April 21st, 1757. C.B.
 Chipping, 1751 (Darney's Poem).
 Church Hill, 1763. S.B.
 Clapham Parish, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507)
 Coat Gap, April 14th, 1763. C.B.
 Cockermouth, 1763. S.B.
 Cockshott House, April 14th, 1763. C.B.
 Coldbeck, 1763. S.B.
 Colne Parish, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Colt Knowle, April 8th, 1779. C.B.
 Cowling Hill, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Craggs Errington, Oct. 18th, 1759. C.B.
 Cullingworth, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
 Dacre Banks, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
 Darley, 1780. S.B.
 Darwin Lower, April 17th, 1760. C.B.
 Deanhead, July 21st, 1756 (Todmorden Book).
 Denholme, Oct. 16th, 1760. C.B.
 Denton, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
 Dobin, 1763. C.B.
 Dockroyd, 1779. S.B.
 Dunnockshaw, July 12th, 1759. C.B.
 Eldwick, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
 Elland, Jan. 19th, 1758. C.B.
 Ewood, Mar. 20th, 1764. S.B.
 Facit, 1749 (Everett's *Wesleyan Methodist in Manchester*, &c).
 Fall Barn, Oct. 14th, 1762. C.B.
 Fewston, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Gargrave, 1787. S.B.
 Garthit Hall, 1752 (T. Lee's *Autobiography*, p. 201).
 Gawksholme, May, 1744 (Moore's *Burnley*, &c., p. 5).
 Gisburn, July 20th, 1758. C.B.
 Goodshaw Chapel, Jan. 10th, 1749. C.B.
 Grassington, Dec. 26th, 1776. C.B.
 Greenhow Hill, 1749 (T. Lee's *Autobiography*).
 Guiseley, Jan. 17th, 1760. C.B.
 Hainworth Shay, 1763. S.B.
 Halifax, 1742 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Harden, 1748 (T. Lee's *Autobiography*).
 Hardisty Hill, 1774. S.B.
 Harrogate, Mar. 29th, 1790. C.B.
 Hartwith, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Haslingden, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).

- Hawksworth, Jan. 17th, 1760. C.B.
 Haworth, 1742 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Heathen, 1780. S.B.
 Hebden, Mar. 29th, 1786. C.B.
 Heptonstall, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Higham, April 18th, 1749. C.B.
 Holden House, Oct. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Hollingate, 1750 (Stott's *Haslingden*, &c., p. 14).
 Holme House, 1763. S.B.
 Hoohole, Oct. 15th, 1773. C.B.
 Horrocklee, 1763. S.B.
 Hoylden Water, Oct. 20th, 1757. C.B.
 Ilkley, 1777. S.B.
 Ingrow, 1782. S.B.
 Keighley, 1742 (Laycock's *Methodist Heroes*, p. 19).
 Kendal, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Kettlesing, 1790. S.B.
 Kildwick, 1782. S.B.
 Killinghall, 1790. S.B.
 Knaresborough, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections* p. 507).
 Knaresborough Forest, 1750 " " " "
 Lawnde, April 20th, 1758. C.B.
 Leathley, 1787. S.B.
 Ling Bob, 1748. (T. Lee's *Autobiography*, p. 196).
 Lodge, July 11th, 1749. C.B.
 Lofthouse, Jan. 14th, 1762. C.B.
 Long Preston, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Long Scales, July 3rd, 1777. C.B.
 Longwood Edge, Oct. 19th, 1758. C.B.
 Lorton, 1763. S.B.
 Luddenden Dean, July 24th, 1755. C.B.
 Lupton, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Menston, 1744. (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Menworth Hill, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Midgley, April 18th, 1749. C.B.
 Mill End, April 14th, 1763. C.B.
 Miller Barn, 1744. (Moore's *Burnley*, etc., p. 6).
 Mixenden, July 25th, 1754. C.B.
 Moor Side, 1779. S.B.
 Morton, 1763. S.B.
 Morton Banks, 1763. S.B.
 Newhall, Oct. 7th, 1790. C.B.
 New Mill, Jan. 18th, 1759. C.B.
 Newhurst, April 14th, 1763. C.B.
 Nidderdale, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).

- Norwood, Jan. 14th, 1762. C.B.
 Oakes, or Manningham, July 24th, 1760. C.B.
 Ogden, June 9th, 1753 (Todmorden Book).
 Otley, April 24th, 1755. S.B.
 Owlerton, Jan. 14th, 1762. C.B.
 Padiham, April 18th, 1749. C.B.
 Padside, July 2nd, 1778. C.B.
 Paper Mill Old, July 12th, 1759. C.B.
 Pateley Bridge, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Paythorne, 1750 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Pendle Forest, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Piming, Oct. 15th, 1772. C.B.
 Pinfold, Oct. 15th, 1772. C.B.
 Ramsgill, 1780. S.B.
 Rathmell, 1763. S.B.
 Redshaw, Oct. 15th, 1761. C.B.
 Rochdale, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Rodwell End, July 12th, 1759. C.B.
 Rossendale, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Roughlee, Oct. 18th, 1748. C.B.
 Rylstone, 1779. S.B.
 Sawood, Oct. 3rd, 1776. C.B.
 Scartop, 1780. S.B.
 Settle, 1769. S.B.
 Shaw, April, 1783. S.B.
 Shawforth, 1744. S.B.
 Sherfinside, 1751 (Darneys poem).
 Silsden, 1744 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Simonstone, Jan. 23rd, 1755. C.B.
 Skipton, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Skyram, April, 1786. S.B.
 Skyrethorns, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Snowden, 1777. S.B.
 Sowerby, Oct. 21st, 1756. C.B.
 Stainburn, 1788. S.B.
 Stainland, April 21st, 1757. C.B.
 Steeton, 1779. S.B.
 Sutton, 1744 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Swartha, Oct. 15th, 1772. S.B.
 Syke Side, 1775. S.B.
 Thornton, 1748 (T. Lée's *Autobiography*, p. 197).
 Thruscross, 1763. S.B.
 Thwaites, 1779. S.B.
 Todmorden, 1746 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).
 Top o' th' Coal Pits, Oct. 15th, 1761. C.B.

- Two Laws, 1763. S.B.
 Wadsworth, July 24th, 1760. C.B.
 Walton, April 14th, 1762. C.B.
 Warley Clough, July 20th, 1758. C.B.
 West End, Oct. 6th, 1774. C.B.
 Whitehaven, 1761 (Historical Society ii, 125).
 Wigglesworth, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Wigton, 1763. S.B.
 Wilsden, Jan. 13th, 1763. C.B.
 Woodhill, 1788. S.B.
 Wyecollar, 1751 (Darney's poem).
 Yeadon, 1742 (Dr. Gillies' *Historical Collections*, p. 507).

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